

# Africa Digest

DECEMBER 1961

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# AFRICA



# DIGEST

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## CENTRAL AFRICA Congo

### Congo Events

THE United Nations' attempt to take control of Elisabethville which began on September 13 met with strong resistance from Katangan forces. There was also fierce fighting in Jadotville, 80 miles to the north-west of Elisabethville, where Irish U.N. troops were besieged.

Peace talks were scheduled to take place at Ndola in Northern Rhodesia between President Tshombe and Mr. Hammarskjöld on September 17, but on flight to Ndola the plane crashed and Mr. Hammarskjöld and all on board were killed or died later from injuries.

The talks had been arranged by the Marquess of Lansdowne, Parliamentary Secretary to the British Foreign Office, and after the news of Mr. Hammarskjöld's death the Foreign Office in London announced that the British Government still hoped that a meeting between senior U.N. representatives and Mr. Tshombe could take place at the earliest possible moment for the purpose of arranging a cease-fire and preparing the way for a peaceful settlement between the parties in the Katanga dispute.

A provisional cease-fire agreement was signed on September 20. President Tshombe told a Press conference the agreement provided for an exchange of prisoners, a complete standstill on movements of troops, arms, and munitions, and the creation of a four-man commission having full powers to implement the agreement.

U.N. casualties were 13 killed and 63 wounded. A total of 25 Irish soldiers were missing, presumed prisoners, and 155 had been taken prisoner at Jadotville, as well as two Swedish helicopter crew and one Norwegian. (*The Times*, September 21.)

Minor breaches of the cease-fire were reported in Elisabethville almost immediately, but in general it was observed at this stage. Refugees in U.N. camps were reported "in dire straits". There were between 30,000 and 40,000.

The Central Government led by Mr. Adoula expressed the strongest reservations "about the cease-fire".

**September 26:** M. Mahmoud Khiari, head of the U.N. truce commission, said that the first negotiations towards finalizing the cease fire agreement had gone well. But Mr. Evariste Kimba, of Katanga, said he had told the U.N. commission that no discussions could continue until the U.N. had made clear its attitude towards the Katanga demand for total withdrawal of all U.N. troops.

**September 27:** President Tshombe appealed to Mr. Adoula to meet him with the minimum delay on neutral ground. Sources close to the Katanga President said he had refused an offer of terms from Mr. Adoula on condition that Katanga accepted nationalization of the Union Minière, the Belgian copper mining company which produces most of Katanga's wealth.

**September 28:** The U.N. gave President Tshombe "a matter of days" to expel White mercenaries still serving in the Katanga forces.

**September 29:** Fighting in which twenty people were killed was reported from the mining town of Kipushi on the border of Katanga and Northern Rhodesia. The fighting brought all copper mines to a standstill. A Kipushi official said the trouble was believed to have been caused by the arrival of fifty Baluba refugees from the U.N. camp at Elisabethville, who attacked soldiers at a road-block. Mr. Godefroid Munongo, Katanga Minister of the Interior, ordered an immediate cease-fire by the Army and the police and called on Katangese to lay down arms.

**September 30:** As "a gesture of goodwill", the U.N. withdrew its troops from two points in Elisabethville. Dr. Conor O'Brien, U.N. Chief in Katanga, said that U.N. troops occupying strategic positions in the town would gradually evacuate them.

**October 3:** A joint military Sub-Commission helping to supervise the Katanga cease-fire, was refused permission by the Katanga Government to go to Jadotville where Irish U.N. troops were held captive. President Tshombe had demanded that the U.N. hand over 140 Katanga police and *gendarmes* held by the U.N. in Northern Katanga. Dr. O'Brien claimed that these captives had sought U.N. protection.

**October 6:** Mr. Adoula's office announced that they were ready to guarantee the personal safety of Mr. Tshombe and his emissaries if they came to Leopoldville. Mr. Mahmoud Khiari head of the cease-fire Commission protested at Katangan bad faith in the cease-fire talks. He said the U.N. were prepared to give the Katangans details of all its troop displacements, whereas the Katangans would not permit members of the Commission to visit certain areas of Katanga.

**October 11:** Doubts were raised about unity on the Central Government by the return to Stanleyville of Mr. Gizenga, Vice-Premier of the Central Congolese Government and formerly leader of the Stanleyville régime.

**October 13:** A definitive cease-fire agreement was signed between the U.N. and Katanga. Mr. Adoula, for the Central Government, said that the agreement reinforced Mr. Tshombe's position. U.N. spokesmen denied this.

**October 16:** Mr. O'Brien said that the cease-fire agreement was in abeyance until President Tshombe guaranteed the exchange of Irish prisoners.

**October 18:** Three Irish U.N. officers and two civilian technicians were arrested and detained by Katangese *gendarmes*. Ten Katanga police were killed and their bodies mutilated at the Baluba refugee camp in Elisabethville. Six Balubas were killed during the fight.

**October 19:** General Mobutu, the Congolese Army Chief, said that Katanga *gendarmes* had attacked Congolese troops on the Katanga-South Kasai border, but were forced back. The Katanga Government said they had fought off an attempted invasion by a small force of the Congolese Army. One hundred and eighty Irish soldiers were returned to the U.N. forces.

**October 24:** U.N. headquarters announced its conditional ratification of the terms of the cease-fire in Katanga. The "expressed conditions" for this approval were:

(a) The conclusion of the agreement shall in no way affect the resolutions of the Security Council, including that of February 21, 1961 (on the basis of which the U.N. action against Katanga in September was undertaken) and of the General Assembly.

(b) The agreement is of a strictly military nature and applies solely to the U.N. forces in Katanga and to the armed forces of Katanga.

(c) The agreement does not apply outside Katanga.

President Tshombe left for Switzerland to undergo medical treatment.

**October 30:** Mr. Adoula, announced a "police action" from South Kasai against Katanga. Two Katanga planes had been bombing Congolese troops and civilians near the North Katanga frontier during the past three days.

**November 1:** Mr. Kimba, Katanga Foreign Minister, alleged the Central Government troops had massacred villagers, seized women and children as hostages and burnt huts and fields. Many villagers had fled south. He claimed that 1,500 "Gizengist" troops were approaching Katanga after being flown to Kivu Province, in aircraft piloted by mercenaries.

**November 2:** Katanga claimed to have driven out all Central Government troops. General Mobutu, the Congolese Central Government's Army Commander, announced an offensive to "end the secession" of Katanga.

**November 3:** Dr. Sture Linner, U.N. Chief of the Congo operation, accused President Tshombe's forces of violating the Katanga cease-fire. The President, addressing a Press conference in Geneva, said Leopoldville troops launched a "violent attack". Only then did Katanga bomb General Mobutu's bases. Dr. Linner specified that bombing attacks had been carried out by Katangan forces on October 22, 27, 28 and 29.

**November 5:** Katanga parachute commandos, led by European officers, repulsed Central Government forces.

**November 6:** President Tshombe returned to Elisabethville. He called for an international inquiry into the fighting in Katanga in September and into allegations that the breakaway province had outside political and technical advice.

**November 10:** Renewing their offensive Congolese National Army units reached Albertville, about 100 miles inside Katanga. Mr. Gizenga, Congolese Deputy Prime Minister, rejected an attempt to persuade him to return to Leopoldville from Stanleyville his stronghold.

**November 13:** Congolese troops from Stanleyville arrested thirteen Italian U.N. airmen in Kivu Province. The Italians were arrested soon after they had landed with reinforcements for the Malayan force in Kivu.

**November 15:** U Thant, Acting U.N. Secretary-General, began "personal and direct activities" in Congo crisis. Congolese soldiers at Albertville were reported out of control of their officers. The Indian U.N. contingent was given orders to use force if necessary to restore order.

**November 16:** Mutineers shot the thirteen Italian U.N. airmen in front of a large crowd at Kindu. U.N. spokesman said that if the Central Government proved impotent to punish those guilty of massacre the U.N. would resort to own means.

### The Lumumba Inquiry

The report of the inquiry into the deaths of Mr. Lumumba and his two colleagues, Mr. Okito and Mr. Mpolo, reaches the conclusion that "the weight of evidence is against the official version of the Government of Katanga Province that they were killed by certain tribesmen on February 12, 1961".

On the contrary the report goes on, the Commission accepts as substantially true the evidence indicating that the prisoners were killed on January 17, 1961, after their arrival in a villa not far from Elisabethville and in all probability in the presence of high officials of the Government of Katanga Province, namely Mr. Tshombe, Mr. Munongo, Minister of the Interior, and Mr. Kibwe.

The Commission, which consisted of a Burmese judge and representatives from Ethiopia, Mexico and Togo added:

"President Kasavubu and his aides on the one hand, and the provincial Government of Katanga headed by Mr. Tshombe on the other, should not escape responsibility for the deaths of Messrs. Lumumba, Okito and Mpolo. For Mr. Kasavubu and his aides had handed over Mr. Lumumba

and his colleagues to the Katangan authorities knowing full well, in doing so, that they were throwing them into the hands of their bitterest political enemies." (*The Times*, November 15.)

### U.N. Budget and the Congo

An official report has disclosed that many member states are in arrears in their contributions to the U.N. budget for the current year, as well as in more longstanding default on their contributions over past years to the U.N. Emergency Force special account and the Congo operation *ad hoc* account.

On the Congo account for 1960 as many as 74 countries still owe a total of nearly \$20 million (£7 million). Of this sum the largest amount is due from Russia \$6½ million. France, which also refuses on principle to contribute to the cost of the Congo operation, owes \$3 million, while China owes \$1½ million. All the Communists are in complete default on their assessed shares. Of the Commonwealth countries, the only defaulter is Ghana, which still owes all of its assessed share of \$16,951. (*The Times*, October 2.)

### Reactions to U.N. Role in Katanga

The Belgian Government commenting on Dr. Linner's statement to the U.N. which stressed the role of foreign officers in the Katanga forces said: "In fact, according to a message received from the Belgian Consulate General in Elisabethville on September 16, the true situation is as follows: Of a total of 201 Belgian officers and non-commissioned officers present in Katanga on August 21, 162 have already been repatriated, and 11 are in process of repatriation. There remain in Elisabethville 28 officers of whom 17 stayed in Katanga temporarily, with the authorization of the U.N., in order to ensure the necessary supply and accountancy services for the Katanga *gendarmerie*, while 11 were attached to the Consulate General in order to help with the evacuation of Belgian civilians if necessary."

"None of the Belgian officers took part in the events of the last few days. Their task has moreover always been limited to the training of a provincial *gendarmerie* excluding all participation in actions against the U.N. or the legal authorities in Leopoldville. The tendentious and in certain cases wholly inaccurate statements of certain U.N. representatives are therefore without foundation." (*The Times*, September 20.)

M. Van Acker, the Speaker of the Chamber of Representatives and a former Socialist Prime Minister, paid tribute to the Belgians and Congolese who recently perished in Katanga and South Kasai. He condemned the violence against Belgians at Luluabourg.

M. Spaak, Belgian Foreign Minister, condemned the recent events in the Congo and agreed that the U.N. intervention had been too late and ineffective. The Belgian representative at the U.N. had been instructed to protest and ask for an inquiry. M. Spaak complained that the more technical aid Belgium granted to the Congo, the worse Belgians there were treated. Until the matter was cleared up, he said, Belgium would refuse to contribute towards U.N. expenses in the Congo. If the U.N. did not stop its policy of discriminating against Belgians, Belgium might also consider ceasing to contribute towards U.N. subsidiary organizations such as U.N.E.S.C.O. (*The Times*, November 8.)

The French Foreign Ministry expressed grave concern about the offensive operations undertaken in Katanga, and its spokesman said there were fears that events there would have grave repercussions on the internal situation in the Congo. The Government was astonished at the role assumed by the U.N. Secretariat, whose mission in the terms of the Charter, was to ensure peace, order and security. These events were the more deplorable for Paris, in that France had always advocated the peaceful reintegration of the Congo. (*The Times*, September 16.)

India welcomed the news that U.N. troops had gone into action to extend the Central Government's authority to Katanga. Mr. Nehru announced that he fully endorsed the U.N. action: "It should have been carried out a year ago." He added that he was surprised that some countries, notably Britain, had "criticized and even condemned the U.N."

command for preserving the integrity of the Congo". (*Daily Telegraph*, September 18.)

Sir Paul Gore-Booth, the British High Commissioner in India, denied allegations that Britain had "obstructed" the U.N. since the Katanga operation was launched on September 13. (*Guardian*, September 20.)

Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, accused the U.N. of using "brutal and bitter force" to try to subjugate Katanga, and said the fighting was bound to get worse. It was obvious that once again the U.N. had miscalculated in Katanga. "What was clearly planned as a sharp show of force leading to the immediate collapse of the Government of President Tshombe has developed into a bitter struggle between the people of Katanga and the U.N." (*Guardian*, September 16.)

Sir Roy said that it was quite untrue to suggest that he was supporting Katanga in its conflict with the U.N. "The position I have taken up arises from two considerations, one of which related to the security of the Federation and the other to the question of principle. Ignorance in this part of the world is so profound that it may not be generally realized that the Federation has 2,000 miles of open frontier with Katanga, and the tangled web of tribal affinities across that frontier is such that peace and stability in Katanga are matters of the most vital interest to the Federation. I cannot therefore remain indifferent to what I believe to be ill-considered actions by the U.N. which have precipitated the present tragic conflict." (*The Times*, September 22.)

The Russian view was set out in a communication sent to the Security Council by Mr. Zorin, the Soviet representative. It described the situation in Katanga as one "where bands of mercenaries formed and maintained by the colonialists, are terrorizing the population, keeping real power in their own hands and impeding the reunification of the province with the remainder of the Congo". It alleged that these actions "are still not being suppressed by the U.N. troops, although they have everything they need to do so". (*The Times*, October 18.)

## Nyasaland

### New Measures

#### Labour

THE Minister of Labour and Social Development decided not to renew the permit granted to the Rhodesia Native Labour Supply Commission to recruit Nyasaland nationals for work in Southern Rhodesia. The current permit expires at the end of 1961. He said: "The Government fully realizes that the system of contracting labour here for service in Southern Rhodesia deprives the migrant worker of freedom in the choice of his employer, and there are many other disadvantages. Recruits are largely engaged in agricultural and plantation work in Southern Rhodesia, and we feel that their energies could be better directed to productive farming on their own holdings in Nyasaland."

"Recruiting by the Commission is obviously not popular with the people of this country as the numbers of recruits engaged by the Commission are small in relation to the total of Nyasaland Africans who go on their own account to Southern Rhodesia. Last year 36,424 Africans left Nyasaland to work in Southern Rhodesia. Of these 6,207 were recruited by the Commission."

"We do not intend to prevent anyone who wants to work in Southern Rhodesia from going there. They will go under their own steam—but there is no question of granting Recruiting Permits."

The *Guardian* (October 5) said: "The Government of Southern Rhodesia is not unduly worried by this move because its own Migrant Workers Act of 1960 is intended to curb the influx of foreign migrant workers, particularly from Portuguese East Africa. The Federal Constitution could not allow, however, Nyasas to be regarded as foreign migrants."

"The Minister of Labour, Mr. A. E. Abrahamson, has insisted that White farmers should reduce their large foreign labour forces, and give

an opportunity to unemployed local inhabitants on higher wages. But the farmers have always complained bitterly that local labour does not offer itself easily for farm work, and have continued to rely heavily on migrant Nyasa labour, which accepts extremely low wages and very poor conditions of service."

"The new restrictions are bound to affect the work of the two big recruiting companies in the Republic of South Africa, which supply the Witwatersrand gold mines with labour largely from Nyasaland and Mozambique."

#### Education

Mr. K. Chiume, Minister of Education, decided to introduce French into the Secondary School curriculum in 1962. Among the reasons given are: "To facilitate closer relations between the countries of Africa, and to facilitate exchange of information in matters of culture, economics, health and education, and participation in the work of international bodies concerned with these matters." (*Ministry Statement*, September 19.)

#### Cocoa

Dr. Hastings Banda said that he would be willing to go out of his way to beg money from Britain, America, or Western Germany to finance a cocoa-growing industry in Southern Nyasaland.

It was announced recently that 10,000 acres of waste land in the Elephant Marsh could produce 5,000 tons of cocoa a year and bring the country an annual income of £750,000. It is estimated that about £5 million is needed to finance a polder scheme. A world expert on cocoa said recently that both the quality and yield of the tribal plantings were "very good", and that the trees grew at a faster rate than in Ghana, the world's leading cocoa producer.

### Intimidation or Conspiracy?

Mr. V. Chijalo, chairman of the Mbobo branch of U.F.P., was sentenced to eighteen months for conspiring to defeat justice. He and his wife both pleaded guilty to fabricating charges and giving false evidence against two members of the League of Malawi Youth, as the result of which one had received twelve strokes and the other three months' imprisonment. Chijalo was also ordered to pay restitution to the two men at the rate of £10 and £20 respectively.

The Nyasaland police said that Chijalo and two other members of the United Federal Party at Mbobo had been charged with arson in connexion with the burning down of their own houses just before the general election. The Solicitor-General, Mr. Brian Roberts, said that there had been "a monstrous misuse of the process of justice for political ends by Chijalo and the most serious victimization of innocent men". (*Nyasaland Information Department*, September 22.)

### The Governor and the Colour Bar

Sir Glyn Jones, the Governor of Nyasaland, withdrew his patronage of the Zomba Gymkhana Club, one of the oldest social clubs in the territory, because it does not admit Africans. A copy of his letter announcing the decision was torn from the club notice-board.

It said: "The European-only rule is, in my view, an offence against the dignity of a people whose goodwill is essential for the happy and peaceful development of our territory."

Mr. Martin Pegg, president of the club, said that he did not think the Governor's decision would cause mass resignations. Another sports club official explained: "We are not anti-Black, but surely we are to be allowed to drink and play sports with people we chose?" (*Daily Telegraph*, October 27.)

On his arrival in London for talks with Mr. Maudling, the Colonial Secretary, Sir Glyn said: "I think the rule excluding everybody but Whites was offensive, I felt that, holding the position I do, it was no longer possible for me to belong to a club that has such an archaic rule. The club has tried to get the rule changed on two occasions, but because of a rule that a two-thirds majority is required to make a change the 'no Coloured' rule has not been changed." (*The Times*, October 28.)

# Rhodesia, Northern

## Decline of Tension<sup>1</sup>

By the end of September there had been 2,600 arrests: 1,900 people had been convicted of charges arising from the disorders, of these 1,650 were U.N.I.P. members. Most of the offences were connected with unlawful assembly or processions and identity certificates.

New security regulations were made and detention camps were opened in the Northern and Luapula provinces. Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, president of U.N.I.P., denounced the violence and claimed that fifty-four people had been killed and many villages looted and burned. (*Ghana Daily Graphic*, September 23.)

The *Observer* (September 17) reported that thirty-eight schools had been destroyed and agricultural experimental areas had been set on fire.

Following on a British Government statement that it would consider representations about the constitutional position once violence had ceased, the British Council of Churches said: "The Committee believes it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government not only to maintain law and order but to remove the causes of unrest where they have the power to do so. It therefore urges Her Majesty's Government to announce without delay what changes it now believes to be necessary in the best interests of the protectorate."

"... Her Majesty's Government, as the protecting Power, should at once declare its intention to see an African majority in the Northern Rhodesian Legislature in the near future, and should grant an interim constitution which must clearly lead to this result."

The Special Committee of the Church of Scotland urged that a fairer, less racial and simpler method of electing national members be devised in order that justice be done, disorder avoided and our protectorate responsibilities properly discharged.

Sir Roy Welensky protested against the Government's statement: and a European extremist group called the Federal Fighting Force was reformed and demanded immediate independence from Britain for the Federation. Mr. J. Roberts, leader of the U.F.P., announced his refusal to pay premium interest due on his two farms, because of the Government's new attitude. The U.F.P. collected 700 signatures for a petition to the Queen which said that Northern Rhodesians "stand aghast" at a breach of faith by "Your Majesty's Government in the face of violence and lawlessness. We feel that hereafter the word of Your Majesty's Government cannot be trusted." (*The Times*, October 3.)

Sir John Moffat, leader of the Liberal Party, said the U.F.P. was "wholly irresponsible" in its plan to resist a change in the Constitution.

Sir Roy Welensky described U.N.I.P. as a "monster as vicious as the Zambia National Congress".

By October 5 the Northern Rhodesian Government announced that though the general situation was restored to normal, incidents continued to occur and the possibility of further violence could not be ruled out. The U.N.I.P. announced that it would boycott elections held under the proposed Constitution unless it were changed (a) by allowing Asians and Euraficans to take part in the double member national constituency elections; (b) by reducing the qualifying percentage for national seat candidates from 12½ to 5. (*Northern News*, October 6 and 12.)

At the beginning of November, the Governor, Sir Evelyn Hone, began to hold conversations with political groups. He said law and order had been restored. (*Daily Telegraph*, November 2.)

The cost of the damage done was estimated at £16,000.

# Rhodesia, Southern

## Colour Bar Campaign<sup>1</sup>

Two judges of the Southern Rhodesia High Court ruled that Salisbury City Council had no right to exclude Non-Whites from the Council

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IX, 2.

swimming baths—hitherto reserved for Europeans only. Mr. S. N. Mehta, secretary-general of the Salisbury Asian Association, had personally applied to the court for an order restraining the Council from restricting the use of the baths.

The Mayor of Salisbury, Mr. Ivor Pitch, said the City Council had given notice of appeal against the judgement. In the meantime admission to the baths would remain restricted. The City Council already provided separate baths for Asians and Africans.

In his judgement the Southern Rhodesia Chief Justice, Sir Hugh Beadle, said Mr. Mehta, "has suffered injury to his dignity. It would be fanciful to suggest Europeans suffered any comparable injury." (*The Times*, October 14.)

Following changes in the Entertainments Control and Censorship Act, seventeen cinemas opened their doors to Africans when selected films were being shown.

The annual congress of the United Federal Party in Southern Rhodesia accepted resolutions calling for legislation to outlaw racial discrimination and saying land ownership should be on a non-racial basis. The Government should "give the highest priority to the removal of restrictions preventing acquisition of land by persons of any race", and called for the repeal of the 1930 Land Apportionment Act (which divides the country into White and Black areas) and its replacement with "legislation better designed to cope with the present situation. . . ."

Sir Edgar Whitehead, the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, said that their present methods were too slow—"We have not got the time. Desegregation is being effected in the larger urban centres, but in smaller towns it will take ten years unless we do something about it. . . ."

Although he had the new clear mandate from the congress it exceeded the mandate he had got from the electorate at the last election. He would submit these issues to the next electorate at the next election (planned for next October) and when the new Constitution had become law. Sir Edgar made a spirited appeal for tolerance, and forecast vast new economic developments which would usher in a new order for Southern Rhodesia, largely because the confidence of investors had been renewed by the victory in the referendum. He had had more inquiries from investors in the last three weeks than at any time in the last three years. (*Guardian*, October 7.)

At a meeting of 10,000 Africans in Bulawayo, Mr. J. Z. Moyo, N.D.P. financial secretary, said Sir Edgar's appeal was too late. "We don't want to sit next to Europeans in cinemas or hotels: the time for that has passed." (*Federation Newsletter*, October 20.)

After two months, the bar on political meetings ended on October 2.

## Congress Manoeuvres

Threats and physical violence occurred between the National Democratic Party (N.D.P.) and the Zimbabwe National Party (Z.N.P.). However, shortly before the N.D.P. annual congress Z.N.P. offered to disband and accept Mr. Joshua Nkomo's leadership if N.D.P. decided: (1) reject the new Southern Rhodesian Constitution unreservedly; (2) boycott next year's general election; (3) to adopt a more militant attitude in its dealings with the Government; and (4) to demand a new constitutional conference to press for an African majority in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament. (*Guardian*, October 10 and 21.)

The N.D.P. congress unanimously decided to boycott the elections to be held under the new Constitution. (*Federation Newsletter*, November 3.)

Both Mr. Matimba of Z.N.P. and Mr. Nkomo of N.D.P. have been in contact with Dr. Banda of Nyasaland.

## Companion with Nigeria

The President of the New Africa Party, Mr. R. S. Garfield Todd, said in Lagos that what he had seen in Nigeria had made him more determined than ever to work for the overthrow of racial policies in the Federation and Southern Rhodesia. European racial policies were not only denying people the vote but also strangling Rhodesian economy, he said, and the sacrifice

of present racial governments in the Federation for governments by people would be small sacrifice to pay for security and development. (*Federation Newsletter*, October 3.)

## Debate in the Commons

Mr. Bernard Braine, Joint Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, moved the Second Reading of the Southern Rhodesian (Constitution) Bill in the House of Commons on November 8. He said that the present Constitution had been in operation since 1923.

"Everyone is agreed on the necessity for constitutional change in Southern Rhodesia, but I make it quite plain that we would never have agreed to give up our reserved powers unless we were certain that they could be replaced by adequate safeguards."

Mr. Braine said the reserved powers were negative in character and had never been used: "We should not imagine that by their use we could promote a constructive, forward-looking liberal policy unless the people of Southern Rhodesia themselves wanted that."

"As agreed at the Constitutional Conference in Salisbury in February 1961, new safeguards will consist of a comprehensive Declaration of Rights and a Constitutional Council to examine all legislation passed into force after the new Constitution comes into operation, the Council having the power to delay proposed legislation which it considers inconsistent with the Declaration of Rights. Whether any law is declared inconsistent with the Declaration of Rights by the Constitutional Council or not, the law can be declared invalid by the courts. Arrangements will be made for an inalienable right of appeal to the Privy Council. . . .

"Some members had expressed concern that the Declaration of Rights was not to be made retrospective so that all discriminatory legislation on the Statute Book on the day that the Constitution came into force would be swept away. But that point was agreed by the Constitutional Conference."

"... If the Declaration of Rights were applied retrospectively, there might be called in doubt a number of Statutes which are, in fact, advantageous to Africans, or designed for the protection of Africans at this stage of development. . . .

"The test is whether discrimination, where it occurs, is unfair. Our view is that it is far better to approach the task of ending discrimination in an orderly manner than to invite the chaos which would arise from sweeping away all discriminatory legislation and putting into a state of uncertainty a number of laws until their consistency or otherwise with the Declaration of Rights had been pronounced upon the courts."

"In the new Constitution provision will be made for certain minimum qualifications for the franchise, and these qualifications cannot be raised, in the sense that they will limit opportunities for registration of voters, so as to decrease the number of voters, without invoking a very powerful new safeguard—a referendum at which the four principal racial groups will have their votes separately counted and which will be declared to have failed unless each group's votes show a majority in favour of the proposal."

"On the other hand, a change in the qualifications which would have the effect of giving the vote to more people—an improving change of that kind—will be within the power of the Legislature and it will not be in the power of any one race to hold it up provided it secures a two-thirds majority in the Assembly. The effect of these new arrangements for the franchise and the composition of the Assembly should be to give Africans a minimum of fifteen seats, perhaps more, in a House of sixty-five at the first general election, and no doubt an increasing number after that. . . .

"The system of cross-voting and devaluation described in the White Papers ensures that candidates in both 'A' roll constituencies and 'B' roll electoral districts have to pay regard to the interests of both racial groups if they are to secure election. It is this, more than anything else, which will determine the outlook and behaviour of the new Legislature."

Southern Rhodesia will be free to amend the Constitution without reference to Britain, with the exception of amendments which affect the position of the Sovereign and the Governor, and the right of the British Government to safeguard the position regarding international obligations and undertakings given by the Southern Rhodesia Government in respect of loans under the Colonial Stock Acts.

"Where the basic clauses are concerned—and they relate to the Declaration of Rights, the Constitutional Council, appeals to the Privy Council, alteration to the franchise, safeguards on the subject of land, the security of Civil Service pensions, and amendment of the Constitution itself—it will be necessary, in addition to securing the two-thirds majority of the Assembly, to obtain the agreement of a majority of each of the four principal racial communities."

"Alternatively, if it so decides by a two-thirds majority, the Legislative Assembly may, instead of referring the issue to a referendum, seek the approval of the British Government, for the constitutional changes they desire, but the British Government of the day will be at liberty to decide whether they consider it would be more appropriate to refer the matter to a referendum of the four racial communities."

Sir Frank Soskice (Labour) said that the Minister did not mention that a referendum on the proposals was held in July of this year, and that the referendum produced a 2-1 vote in favour of the proposals: "The point I want to make on that vote is that about 40,000 votes were cast for and 20,000 against, that is to say, a total of over 60,000. But the National Democratic Party also held its own referendum, decisively rejecting the proposals. On any view, that could not be regarded as a satisfactory situation. Although the proposals were approved, the Africans in their own referendum decisively rejected them, and yet in the referendum approving the proposals only 6,000 Africans were qualified to vote." Sir Frank continued: "I greatly hope that in criticizing the proposals now under consideration we shall not be thought to be anti-European. . . . If these proposals leave Southern Rhodesia in a situation in which the vast majority of the population, about 3 million Africans, are not content, then that is a situation which augurs ill not only for the Africans but even for the Europeans."

Sir Frank said that the proposed Constitution did not measure up to the minimum requirements which were indispensable. After all, those minimum requirements should create a situation in which the Law and Order Maintenance Act, which led to the resignation of the Chief Justice of Southern Rhodesia, should not be necessary; a situation in which Detention Ordinance should not be necessary; in which the Vagrancy Act should not be necessary; in which the Monckton Commission should not think it appropriate to say, speaking of federation and with particular reference to Southern Rhodesia, that it was racial discrimination which was making the further passage of federation a difficult one."

"It has been pointed out in debate before that the functions of the Constitutional Council are purely advisory. It has no real compulsive power at all. All that it can do is to report to the Speaker, who must lay a report before the Legislative Assembly if, in its view, a measure appears to be discriminatory. But the Legislative Assembly can quite easily overcome the report's effect either by nevertheless affirming the measure by a two-thirds majority or, six months later, affirm it by a simple majority. With regard to existing legislation of the Statute Book, the Constitutional Council can undoubtedly report on it, but if it does so all that happens is that its report, is laid before the Legislative Assembly, which may completely disregard it."

"The third qualification is that it cannot, for some reason or other, tender any advice with regard to money Bills."

Referring to the Declaration of Rights, Sir Frank said: "I put it to the House that it is so qualified in its terms and has such enormous exceptions to its operation that it is rather threadbare as a protection to those in danger of being discriminated against. . . . It means that if those who seek to support a law which is said to be discriminatory can say, for example, that if one looks at the nature of the restriction and can show that the restriction is reasonably justifiable in the interests of Southern Rhodesia as a whole, the measure is not discriminatory. I put it to the House that that drives a coach and horses right through the anti-discrimination provisions. . . . I submit that the idea that this is going to protect the African population of Southern Rhodesia is very nearly illusory."

Sir Lionel Heald (Conservative) a member of the Monckton Commission said: "We (on the Commission) strongly criticized Southern Rhodesia, but it is right and proper now to recognize what has followed the criticism and point out that the position today is strikingly different."

... First, the Indaba took place, the so-called national convention, at which the Chiefs and representatives of the whole population met and arrived at some remarkable results. ... As from a date earlier this year, all posts in the Civil Service have been open to Africans. The Pass Laws ... have virtually been abolished. The Land Apportionment Act has been amended in a very important particular, allowing Africans to hold land in the European townships. The cinema laws have been very largely repealed and many cinemas are now open to Africans.

"On October 5, there was the Annual Congress of the Southern Rhodesia United Federal Party, I stress that it was the Southern Rhodesia United Federal Party because the attitude of the U.F.P. in another place is rather different. It is interesting to note that the *Guardian* reported that there were 103 African delegates at this congress representing 25 per cent of the whole, and they were largely instrumental in getting several very progressive resolutions adopted."

Sir Lionel concluded: "I therefore suggest that we should give the Constitution a fair chance. No good is done by saying that it is too late, that this is a death-bed repentance, and so on. Let us try to look forward."

The Rt. Hon. H. Marquand (Labour) said: "After the thorough and careful examination which we have conducted in two successive debates, I do not see how any fair-minded person can be left in doubt that the only sure guarantee for non-discrimination and successful African constitutional advance lies in the franchise. Everything depends on that."

"The more we analyse the constitutional proposals, the more we come back to this. The recommendations of the Constitutional Council can be set aside by certificates of urgency or by outright repeal by the Legislature by a two-thirds majority at once or by a simple majority after six months. The only effective safeguard which Africans can have under this Declaration of Human Rights and these provisions for a Constitutional Council lies in a sufficient number of representatives in the House to block that kind of attack on the Constitution."

"Who can be sure that after the Constitution is approved by this House, there might not be a reversal to the previous attitude? That attitude lasted for a very long time."

"The Africans, therefore, cannot be expected to accept this new Constitution as satisfactory because they have no effective means of changing it. We cannot ask them, as the wind of change blows furiously down through Africa, to wait for the sweet by and by. Everywhere else they see rapid advance. They see everywhere else that it is possible for the races to live in harmony and that it is possible for White men and Africans to accept as their best safeguard the goodwill of the majority. They cannot understand—I do not blame them; I do not understand either—why this proved experiment cannot be tried in Southern Rhodesia."

Mr. Marquand recalled that when Mr. Joshua Nkomo and other leaders of the National Democratic Party came to London and saw the Duke of Devonshire, Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, they gained the impression that because Southern Rhodesia is becoming an increasingly industrialized country, because large numbers of United Kingdom firms have interests there and because of these interests of the United Kingdom and of powerful financial groups and companies in the Rhodesias generally, it was felt that Africans could not be trusted with the same extension of political power that they have in the less developed parts of Africa.

Mr. Marquand read extracts from the N.D.P. memorandum explaining the Party's decision to boycott the new Constitution, and added: "Frankly, I regret their decision not to contest the election. ...

"It has been a long, tragic story. From the beginning of the launching of this move there has been far too much effort to convince the extreme reactionary section of White opinion in Southern Rhodesia that the constitutional change was acceptable by selling it to them as independence, as complete self-government for the White settlers, and a ban on African advance. There has been far too little effort to seek out and explain to African leaders."

Winding up the debate Mr. Duncan Sandys, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, said: "If the natural consequence of the law, even though it does not mention a particular race, is to prejudice or to favour a particular race as distinct from other races, then, even though

it does not mention that race in the law, that will be regarded as discriminatory."

He recalled that some members had praised the strength of Britain's reserve powers under the present Constitution, and said it had been maintained that although they had never been used the fact that they existed had a restraining influence and had the effect of preventing the passage of discriminatory legislation which otherwise would get on to the Statute Book.

"I do not say that there may not have been cases where that has happened. All I can say is that that hardly ties up very well with the Right Hon. and learned gentleman's (Sir Frank Soskice) complaint that in 1960 discriminating legislation of what he described as the most Draconian kind was passed. Therefore, the deterrent effect of these powers cannot have been very great. As I have explained, these powers have proved most ineffective and both Labour and Conservative Governments have found them, in practice, virtually impossible to use. Some of the most keenly discriminating legislation on the Statute Book of Southern Rhodesia, including the original Land Apportionment Law, and one of the most hated, the Native Pass Law, were passed with the approval of a Labour Government."

"This new Constitution will provide a quarter, or probably rather more than a quarter, of African seats in the new Legislative Assembly. That is virtually the certain result. There will be about fifteen, and probably another three, making a maximum of eighteen seats at the first election. I think that most people would agree with that."

"The European parties have been fairly evenly divided. We talk about fifteen or seventeen African seats and so many European seats, but I cannot believe that that is how the thing will work, the United Federal Party, which is the majority party today, is going to put up a number of African candidates. I cannot believe that during the period ahead any Government in Southern Rhodesia will be able to carry through their policies effectively and maintain a reasonable majority while ignoring the African members of the Assembly. Of course they will need their support."

"No doubt the African members will support them against other parties on taxation, road transport, and all sorts of other matters which have nothing to do with race, and from time to time will ask, 'What about us? If you want votes in the predominantly African constituencies you have to do something about the Africans, and they are asking for an enlargement of the franchise.' ...

"It is true, of course, that the N.D.P. which at first supported the new Constitution, afterwards repudiated it. It is also true that it is probably the largest all-African party in Southern Rhodesia. But it should not be assumed that the views which it expresses are necessarily those of the majority of the African inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia. I am not seeking to minimize the importance of the N.D.P. I have always listened to its views with great sympathy and I am anxious to keep in touch with it."

"I believe also that we should not minimize the importance of the other parties in Southern Rhodesia which are making an appeal to both races. ... I sincerely hope that between now and the elections all parties will decide to put up candidates, which is surely in the best interests of Southern Rhodesia and its future development. The political parties, whatever their differences, should seek to achieve their aims through democratic political channels."

## Riots in Inyanga and Bulawayo

One hundred and sixty-seven Africans were arrested in Chipinga in the eastern part of Southern Rhodesia and other disturbances were reported from Inyanga and Umtali districts. Many have been protesting against the Land Husbandry Act and the allocation of land which has necessitated many of them having to be moved. (*Guardian*, September 7.)

The Secretary for Native Affairs said the reports of disturbances and riots were "grossly exaggerated". (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 8.)

At Bulawayo an African was killed—eleven were arrested and the police used tear-gas on two occasions when riots and violence broke out. Large crowds assembled and police were stoned. (*The Times*, October 19 and 24.)

# Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Federation of

## The Federation, Nationalism and Communism

SPEAKING to the Institute of Directors in London, the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, said, *inter alia*:

"Such is the strength of the Federal economy that it has weathered the political difficulties of the past two years, with the recession which stemmed directly from them—a recession for which the blame must lie squarely with those who have shown vacillation and weakness in the exercise of their responsibilities towards us, and have allowed confusion and doubt to arise where none has been justified. . . .

"It is an economy ten years ahead of almost every other state in Africa; and we are still at the beginning of the development we plan and can reasonably expect to see. I suggest that it is unlikely that the British businessmen in their wisdom will doubt the value of this market and of its future, or the value of the British association which we ourselves greatly prize.

"But it was not for economic reasons alone that the Federation was brought into being. A choice had to be made between the domination by one race over another on the one hand, and partnership on the other, with the goal of a way of life in which a man's ability, not the colour of his skin, would count. This was no academic problem, for the forces of African racialism were on the move. Their purpose was already plain—the rule of a new nationalism, which knows no country but has a continent on which to grow, and owes no allegiance except to power. It was to the strength of a federation that the four Governments turned—to inject stability into Central Africa and to contain this disruptive movement.

"I believe that historians will list amongst the tragedies of this age that a movement which has swept a continent, has awakened the consciousness of millions of backward people, and has enlisted the aid of thousands more abroad, and which had the potential of great good turned evil so soon and began to feed upon its followers. For it has done this.

"It has become the instrument of the politician, used first in the name of liberty and then in the exercise of naked power; yet it has made a mockery of liberty and has enslaved thousands upon thousands of its own people in dictatorship and in the thralldom of poverty and chaos.

"It pays lip service to non-violence but never hesitates to use the methods of the murderer. It condemns colonialism as oppression; yet no Colonial Power would tolerate the oppression meted out by Africans to Africans today.

"Finally, it claims no racial barriers; yet by its very definition it is based on the colour of the skin, and only by the deliberate disruption of racial harmony can it make progress to power. This is the movement in which so many misguided people still see the hope of Africa. . . .

"With great cleverness the waiting forces of propaganda and the ever-ready forum of the U.N. are synchronized in attack upon authority, and in support of every little demagogue and his dubious course; and time after time authority is made to appear the aggressor against an innocent and down-trodden people, although authority has done no more than its first duty in resisting violence and brutal coercion. . . .

"Compacency and distance have combined to endorse the error and indecision of authority—and the West has suffered a major defeat. But not so Communism. The advance of Soviet influence has gone farther in the past decade than many dare believe. Cast your minds back ten years and recall the picture as it was then; remember the Communist triumphs and the endless succession of Western failures; and then look at the scene today.

"Communist influence now blankets the Middle East and North Africa. Egypt, which has had a dictatorship since 1953, has never ceased to fish in troubled waters since that time. There is the closest affinity between Cairo and Moscow, and it is from Moscow or Prague that come

the arms and the techniques the Egyptians use. Egypt in turn is banker and agent to African nationalism, and has channelled large sums of money to that movement. Guinea is openly the West Coast centre of Communist activity.

"In Ghana all but the trappings of democracy have disappeared; opposition Members of Parliament are detained and imprisoned without trial, and there is a censorship of the Press. There is a rapid move towards Marxism. There is Russian aid. There are tours of Russia and her satellites, and cadets are sent to Moscow for training. Ghana, too, is the warden and paymaster of the African nationalists.

"In the Congo the Central Government holds power most tenuously, and day by day the threat of the Gizenga Communists grows. Fifty million pounds of Western money have secured nothing but the certainty of further misery. . . .

"The African nationalists vehemently deny that they are Communist or work for the Communist cause. I accept the first, but not the second, for look at the record. . . .

"Where, today, does Ghana stand? The Congo is in chaos, Kenya in the balance. Mau Mau which caused 11,000 deaths, all but few of Africans, is alive again. In North Angola there is war. Only a fool would doubt that this account of disruption and disturbances gives the utmost satisfaction to the Communist planners.

"On November 29, 1892, at the second annual meeting of the British South Africa Company in London, Cecil John Rhodes said: 'There is a party of scuttle in England, whose idea is to retire from every portion of the globe. . . . I ask every one of you, each in his own way, at all times and on all occasions, to oppose the party of scuttle. I do not mean this on the basis of jingoism or on the basis of the Empire on which the sun never sets, but on the basis of pure practical business.' Rhodes went on to emphasize the vital importance of exports to Britain, and concluded: 'We cannot afford to part with one inch of the world's surface which affords a free and open market to the manufactures of our countrymen'. . . .

"One by one countries are joining the Afro-Asian bloc, and, as a third force in a world where safety and survival have hung for long in a balance precariously maintained between the major powers of the West and East, such a neutral force could have great strength, and an influence for good; but unhappily certain members of that bloc pay no more than lip-service to neutrality or political neutralism; and even if it were possible today, which I doubt, to be neutral in the world's struggle, this new force has already been undermined and its purposes perverted. . . .

"This is no matter of sentiment alone. It has a direct and practical bearing on your future here in Britain as well as on what we in the Commonwealth countries will have to face. It may be possible to tolerate the double standard of conduct—one for the old countries and one for the new—in the realms of politics and international affairs, though this must bring humiliation; but it is impossible to confine it to those limits, and already the cost of your business in some young countries has gone up, and the price of corruption and inefficiency is being paid. It is the added cost of nationalism to you; but to the consumer too, who thus pays for the ambitions of his leaders and for the loss of British tutelage. Yet how much greater is the price you pay when allegiance goes, for then markets themselves are jeopardized; and it would be foolish to believe that every Soviet grant or loan has not presaged some further switch in trade. . . .

"Today Kenya is being developed as a base; but how long do you believe that that will be secure, once government is in nationalist hands? Almost the Federation alone offers Britain a British base, without some treaty or consideration, and with support and unqualified security of tenure. . . .

"The very survival of the Commonwealth depends upon a new awareness of the grave error of the past ten years and of the disaster which now threatens. I am asking for a change of policy, a rededication to the proven ideals of the past, and for a decision that each issue shall henceforth be judged in terms of reality and truth. . . .

"It is the tragedy of Africa that independence, in the name of freedom and democracy, is bringing so little to the common man, and that the ideal of 'one man, one vote', the prized achievement of centuries in Britain, has done no more than set the clock back on our continent." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, November 9.)

## University College

The University College at Salisbury received 287 applications for entry in March, 1962, as compared with 188 in 1961. The comparative figures were:

	1962	1961
Europeans .. .. .	200	134
Africans .. .. .	81	47
Others .. .. .	6	7

A new course for the London University degree of Bachelor of Science in Economics will be started. (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 14.)

The *Guardian* (September 23) repeated that a circular had been issued stating that the college was losing the confidence of the public, and also losing money, and students. Recently the Fort Victoria Town Council withheld its small annual grant of £89 as a sign of protest. The Salisbury City Council and three other councils as well as benefactors like the tobacco associations have threatened to do the same.

The authorities were said to be worried by the activities of three lecturers, who were members of N.D.P., Dr. T. O. Ranger, Mr. J. Reed and Dr. Van Velson. There were also reports of agitation and friction among the students.

## African Earnings

The Central Statistical Office estimated that in the eight main towns of Northern Rhodesia—Lusaka, Livingstone, Ndola, Luanshya, Kitwe, Mufulira, Chingola, and Broken Hill—Africans had gross earnings in 1960, in cash and kind of £19.4 million. About £2 million went in rent, about £7 million on food, £2.8 million on clothing and footwear, £2.6 million on drink and tobacco, £1.4 million on household stores and £500,000 on fuel and light.

The survey also showed that the average size of families was 4.2 per cent.

The survey of incomes which was not complete showed the following proportion:

Monthly Income	
up to £4 .. .. .	1 per cent
£4-£8 .. .. .	27 per cent
£8-£12 .. .. .	36 per cent
£12-£16 .. .. .	22 per cent
£16-£20 .. .. .	8 per cent
over £20 .. .. .	6 per cent

In the Federation the comparative figures of earnings in 1960 were:

Africans —1,096,500 earned £95,707,000 (average £87);  
Europeans— 115,798 earned £150,958,000 (average £1,209).

There was a striking difference between the figures for the two Northern Territories.

	Northern Rhodesia	Nyasaland
Gross domestic product		
Total £ millions .. .. .	218.5	58.3
Per head £ .. .. .	90	21
Salaries and Wages: £ millions		
Africans .. .. .	32.2	9.4
Non-African .. .. .	48.3	6.4
Average Earnings: £		
African .. .. .	119	51
European .. .. .	1,464	1,185

(*Economics Report*, 1961.)

## European Population

The recent census showed a rise of more than 20 per cent in the European population over the last five years.

	1956	1961
Southern Rhodesia .. .. .	177,124	220,610
Northern Rhodesia .. .. .	65,277	74,600
Nyasaland .. .. .	6,732	8,730
	249,133	303,940

Most of the increase was in the three big cities, Salisbury increasing by 26,000, Bulawayo by 8,700, Lusaka by 2,350, Kitwe-Nkana by 2,500, and Blantyre-Limbe by 1,500.

# Ruanda-Urundi

## Prime Minister Assassinated

PRINCE LOUIS RWAGASORE, Prime Minister of Urundi, was assassinated on October 13 in Usumbura. He was dining with his Cabinet Ministers and other friends on the terrace of a lakeside restaurant.

It was reported in Urundi that a Greek youth was responsible for the assassination. Belgium's Foreign Minister has passed to the U.N. Security Council a request from Urundi for an international investigation into the assassination. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, October 26.)

## General Elections and After

The first general elections in Ruanda and Urundi caused some 7,000 Tutsi refugees to flee from Ruanda to neighbouring Uganda. In Urundi the Uprona Party won 58 of the 64 seats, and in Ruanda the Parmehutu Party gained 35 of the 44 seats.

Uprona (Unity and National Progress Party), which polled 626,300 out of 780,000 votes cast, was led by the late Prince Louis Rwagasore, eldest son of the ruling Mwami Mwambusta. He made his Party's electioneering platform a call for complete and immediate independence.

The winning of 58 seats by Uprona surprised the Belgian-backed Common Front Party, which gained the remaining 6 seats. It had had supporters in the provisional Government.

Belgian reaction was epitomized: "The election was a farce, dominated by propaganda and intimidation. We cannot co-operate with Uprona. Let us hand over to the U.N. at once." Rwagasore, eager to take over, called on the Belgians in a post-election broadcast to co-operate with him in his heavy task. Uprona, however, had had close contacts with Lumumba and Communist and neo-Communist leaders and agents. By many Belgians Rwagasore was regarded as a second Lumumba. He was said to favour federation with Tanganyika.

In Ruanda, where at least 300 people, mainly Tutsi, were said to have been killed in clashes with the majority Hutu during the polling, Parmehutu (Emancipation Party) gained 35 of the 44 seats, with three parties sharing the remainder. Mwami Kigeri V, deposed by a Hutu republican coup last March, was arrested by territorial troops in his former capital, Kigali, soon after he crossed the border the day before polling began in Ruanda.

In Ruanda a referendum was held at the same time as the elections on the future of the exiled Mwami Kigeri V. It resulted in a 1 million to 250,000 vote against his regaining power. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, October 19.)

Fighting flared up again between Tutsi and Hutu tribesmen in Ruanda, and some reports stated that about 50,000 refugees were on the move. More than 10,000 had already sought shelter in Uganda and the Congo since skirmishes began at the beginning of the month after the elections. About 40,000 villagers were thought to have gone into hiding in the bush in Ruanda. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, October 26.)

# EAST AFRICA

## Link with Mauritius

VISITING Kenya, Mr. H. E. Walter, the Minister of Works in Mauritius, said that he had found everybody enthusiastic about the possibility of Mauritius joining an East African Federation. Mr. Walter, who met the Governor, said that Sir Patrick Renison considered it was "more or less a matter that would have to be dealt with politically". The Governor had seen no insuperable difficulties in the way of Mauritius joining such federation and said the idea interested him tremendously. He also thought that leaders of all parties would be only too pleased to welcome such a move.

Mr. Kenyatta described the possible inclusion of Mauritius as a "grand idea" and added it remained to be discussed whether such a move would herald attempts to persuade other Indian Ocean islands and neighbouring countries to join an East African Federation. He considered this latest

move made it all the more imperative that Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda achieved federation as quickly as possible.

Dr. Kiano said that the bigger an East African Federation, the better it would be. He hoped that Zanzibar would take a lead from Mauritius or that island would be "left out in the cold". Somalia was not opposed to entering such a federation, and Ruanda-Urundi was particularly keen to do so. If Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia subsequently became members, the Federation would become the most powerful and influential body in Africa, Dr. Kiano added.

Asked what advantages would accrue from Mauritius joining, Mr. Walter pointed out that the island, with a population of 600,000 had a budget of some £15 million half that of the budget for Kenya which had population of about 7 million. There was a "terrific common market potential". Mauritius now made a great demand on Australia, South Africa and other countries for commodities, including beef and butter. The East African countries would find this market increasingly opened to them by federation.

Air services now operated by South African and other airlines could largely be taken over by East African Airways. The tourist market could also be developed. Asked if the development of such an East African Federation was seen as a lever to force South Africa to drop its apartheid policy, Mr. Walter and Mr. Kenyatta said such an effect had not been envisaged, although this could happen. "It would be a group with which the world would have to reckon," Mr. Walter contended. "Under the leadership of Mr. Kenyatta I am convinced the scheme would prove a success." (*East African Standard*, September 8.)

## The Economics of Federation<sup>1</sup>

by Charles Kemp

In discussing an East African Federation the following economic facts<sup>2</sup> should be considered:

TABLE I

### Population and Gross Domestic Product at Factor Cost, 1959

	Kenya	Tanganyika	Uganda	Total
Population (millions)	6.45 <sup>3</sup>	9.08	6.52	22.05
Gross domestic product (£m.):				
Money income	163	106	108	377
Subsistence income	52	54	42	148
Total	215	160	150	525 <sup>4</sup>
Average income per head (£)	33.3	17.6	23.1	23.8

The Raisman Report suggested that: "The total purchasing power of the East African market is at present, and will long remain, of critical size in relation to the prospects of establishing reasonably efficient manufacturing industries in the territories, and since the money income of the whole market is more than twice as great as that of Kenya alone, and more than three times as great as that of either Tanganyika or Uganda alone, it is clear that, *in so far as it can be regarded as a unified market, it is very much more attractive to manufacturing enterprise than any one of the three Territories by itself could be.*"

### Trade Pattern in 1959

TABLE II

The following table shows the value of goods exchanged between the Territories in 1959, exclusive of customs and excise duties:

£000's			
<i>From Kenya:</i>	<i>To Tanganyika</i>	<i>To Uganda</i>	<i>To Rest of World</i>
Local Products	6,400	5,710	33,310
Imported Products	8,230	12,860	5,080
<i>From Tanganyika:</i>	<i>To Kenya</i>	<i>To Uganda</i>	<i>To Rest of World</i>
Local Products	1,850	730	45,290
Imported Products	2,430	290	1,930
<i>From Uganda:</i>	<i>To Tanganyika</i>	<i>To Kenya</i>	<i>To Rest of World</i>
Local Products	1,580	3,630	42,090
Imported Products	440	1,590	1,140
<i>From Rest of World:</i>	<i>To Kenya</i>	<i>To Tanganyika</i>	<i>To Uganda</i>
	78,820	28,330	14,340

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST VIII, 5. <sup>2</sup>Principal Source Cmd. 1219, H.M.S.O.

<sup>3</sup>Estimate. <sup>4</sup>Rounded figures.

The comparative values of total Inter-Territorial Trade and Territorial Trade with the rest of the world can thus be summarized:

TABLE III

£000's		Trade with Rest of the World (Exports)	
Inter-Territorial Trade			
Kenya	33,200		38,390
Tanganyika	5,300		47,220
Uganda	7,240		43,230

From the second table above it can be seen that the value of *locally produced* goods exchanged between the Territories was nearly £20 million. The principal items exchanged and their values in 1959 were as follows:

TABLE IV

£000's		To Tanganyika		To Uganda	
<i>Kenya:</i>					
Cigarettes	895				—
Cigarettes and Tobacco	—				946
Cereals and Flour	774				768
Footwear and Clothing	708				462
Dairy Products	—				579
Cement	682				—
Tea	436				—
Beer	371				—
<i>Tanganyika:</i>		<i>To Kenya</i>		<i>To Uganda</i>	
Unmanufactured Tobacco	255				94
Oil Seeds and Kernels	197				—
Vegetable Oil	187				146
Cereals and Flour	—				217
<i>Uganda:</i>		<i>To Kenya</i>		<i>To Tanganyika</i>	
Unmanufactured Tobacco	806				—
Cigarettes	328				707
Vegetable Oil	689				156
Sugar	469				147
Cotton Piece Goods	401				203

TABLE V

### The Pattern of External Trade, 1960, Imports, £000's

	Kenya	Uganda	Tanganyika
Food	3,743	855	2,306
Beverages and Tobacco	830	206	268
Grade Materials	824	123	129
Fuels	8,008	2,124	3,934
Mineral and Vegetable Oil and Fats	483	653	194
Chemicals	5,214	1,864	2,251
Manufactured goods	21,420	9,521	13,911
Machinery and Transport Equipment	20,957	7,291	10,881
Miscellaneous—manufactured articles	5,181	2,225	2,865
Miscellaneous Transactions etc.	3,371	1,138	1,078

In 1960 the three Territories exported £131,630,000 to the external world, consisting almost entirely of agricultural and plantation products save for £12½ million of minerals (including gold) and diamonds.

### The Case for Federation

The bulk of East African trade is with the outside world and consists of the exchange of primary products mainly for industrial goods. Inter-territorial trade of locally produced goods of about £20 million can be compared with East African exports, in 1959, to the external world of about £121½ million. Table IV shows that inter-Territorial trade is at a comparatively primitive level. Table III reveals that getting on to a half of Kenya's trade is inter-Territorial, whereas Tanganyika's and Uganda's inter-Territorial trade is insignificant compared with their external trade. However, the Raisman Report points out that external trade fell by 27 per cent in value between 1952 and 1953, and by about 3 per cent between 1956 and 1957, and suggests there was, "some tendency for the ratio of

inter-Territorial trade to external in domestic products to rise over the last fifteen years as a whole".

The Raisman Commission was not concerned directly with political federation but it can be deduced from the report that apart from trade benefits, the other two economic pillars of federation would be the existing inter-Territorial arrangements under the East African High Commission, and the benefits of the common market.<sup>1</sup>

A conference was held in London in July this year at which the future of the East African High Commission was discussed, with the result that all the East African Governments said that they wished to continue their association in a common organization and expressed the belief that, in the course of time, this organization might become the basis of an even wider and more general form of association. The East African Common Services Organization is to be set up in which all three Territories will participate as equal partners.<sup>2</sup>

This means the transference of power from official to ministerial hands as elected Ministers will take the place of the three Governors of the Territories who formed the High Commission. The Central Legislative Assembly will now consist of Ministers instead of *ex officio* Civil Servants, and Civil Service members nominated by the Governors, and unofficial members elected by the Territorial legislatures, or appointed by the Governors. In fact, the new Common Services Organization takes into consideration the coming independence of Tanganyika, ministerial control in Kenya and Uganda, and their ultimate independence.

East Africa has now its common communication services, common revenue services and common technical services. The Common Market will now be under the common services authority in which inter-Territorial differences will be settled. The common monetary system is administered by the African Currency Board. There is free movement of capital between the Territories, with some controls over the acquisition of land. Where Africans are concerned there is little control over the inter-Territorial movement of labour. So far as federation is concerned the economic sector is ahead of the political sector.

## Ethiopia

### Reforms

THE Ethiopian Government is planning to establish a fully organized Civil Service recruited on the basis of merit through open competitive examinations. Any persons seeking a post below that of an Assistant Minister will have to prove their abilities by taking the examination and promotion to a higher grade will be governed by satisfactory service. In this way it is intended to prevent the entry of unqualified persons and secure the service against the influence of nepotism and favouritism. (*The Times*, November 2.)

In a speech from the throne on the occasion of his thirty-first coronation anniversary, Emperor Haile Selassie declared that Ethiopia did not intend slavishly or blindly to adhere to the policies of either of the two great world power groups, but would judge each problem on its merits. He added that his appeal to Mr. Khrushchev not to explode the big bomb had been in vain, and now the world seemed "slipping closer to the brink of a nuclear holocaust which could exterminate life on this planet".

The Emperor dealt with land reform and called for more decentralization and more autonomy of administration of the provinces. He said that he had set an example of land reform by ordering certain royal lands in Arussi province to be distributed to tenants. Ethiopia had an agrarian economy and must look first to greater agricultural expansion and development. (*The Times*, November 3.)

## Kenya

### Jomo Kenyatta and the Parties

THE inter-party constitutional conference in Nairobi decided to ask Britain to take action to enable Mr. Jomo Kenyatta to enter the Colony's Legislative Council soon. Mr. Macleod was asked to introduce the power

<sup>1</sup>See "The Raisman Commission", DIGEST VIII, 5, p. 189. <sup>2</sup>DIGEST IX, 1.

of discretion vested in the Governor in consultation with the Council of Ministers to remove in individual cases the disqualification of persons who have served more than two years in prison. (*Daily Graphic*, September 7.)

Mr. Julius Nyerere, Prime Minister of Tanganyika, and Mr. Jomo Kenyatta met in Nairobi and discussed the question of eventual federation. They later addressed a meeting. Kenyatta said he had spoken to leaders of both K.A.N.U. and K.A.D.U., and they both declared that they wanted the same objectives. He asked the crowd to raise their hands if they, comprising as they did members of both parties, wanted unity. A forest of hands went up and Kenyatta told them: "If you want unity with one heart, I think it can be achieved."

Mr. Nyerere, in his turn, warned the assembly of the need to create unity "for without it we shall be crushed like sheep". He then delighted the crowd by teaching them Dr. Banda's cry of Kwacha (Dawn) which, he explained, meant the dawn of freedom.

A grim note in the otherwise cheerful proceedings was sounded by Paul Ngei, a former Kenya African Union colleague of Kenyatta. Ngei, who was sentenced with him at Kapenguria, wore a black forage cap with the dates 1952-61 superimposed in white. He told the crowd that land which had been taken from the Africans must be taken back, and said he would never agree that Europeans should be allowed to remain in possession. Kenyatta felt obliged to say that during his forty years of political life he had always contended that land taken from Africans should be returned. (*The Times*, September 11.)

At a political rally in Kisumu on September 17 Mr. Kenyatta gave a warning that if K.A.D.U. and its rival, K.A.N.U., did not co-operate he would consider forming a third political party. He said he would await the outcome of the constitutional talks and see what the two parties decided. He appealed for peace and unity but said the immigrant communities must know that the time for ruling Africans was over. "We don't want to chase them away," he said, "but those who did not want to serve an African Government should pack their bags and leave."

By acclamation two resolutions were passed by the meeting. The first called on Sir Patrick Renison, the Governor, to revoke the Order in Council which bars Mr. Kenyatta from membership of the Legislative Council; the second was a demand that Mr. Kenyatta should enter the Legislative Council as soon as possible to create the unity now required in Kenya. (*The Times*, September 18.)

K.A.D.U. leaders voiced their complete rejection of Mr. Jomo Kenyatta's leadership before a crowd of about 10,000 on September 30. Mr. Masinde Muliro told the wildly cheering crowd: "K.A.D.U. has refused Kenyatta's leadership because his is the leadership of blind people. We believe in unity based on democratic ideals, and we are satisfied that he has no such type of unity in mind, so we reject his leadership. . . . How can Kenyatta lead us if he cannot even discipline Ngei? If he cannot do that, how is it he expects to lead 6 million people?" (*Kenya Digest*, October 12.)

On October 4, Mr. Tom Mboya announced that the president Mr. J. S. Gichuru was stepping down to the post of chairmanship of the Parliamentary Group and Mr. Kenyatta was to be offered the presidency and leadership of the Party. (*The Times*, October 5.)

Speaking in Mombasa, Mr. Joseph Shikuku, general secretary of K.A.D.U. accused K.A.N.U. of preparing a new Mau Mau movement. He said: "Some kind of subversive and violent movement similar to Mau Mau is brewing in the National Union with the full knowledge of the Party leaders as well as Jomo Kenyatta." He appealed to the Government "to take serious measures to bring the present situation under control". (*Daily Telegraph*, October 18.)

Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, though he refused to be swayed by the crowd's repeated demands that he should announce his assumption of the leadership of the Kenya African National Union, made one of his most forceful speeches in Nairobi on October 20. He addressed a crowd of some 20,000 at a rally organized by the Kenya Federation of Labour.

He made a bitter attack on those people who, he said, were delaying Kenya's freedom because they did not want unity. When the crowd

responded to this with shouts of "Ngala, Ngala, Ngala", Mr. Kenyatta told them, "My brothers, I didn't mention any name, but if you know the name, well and good. People like those are the ones who are delaying the day when Kenya will achieve its freedom." (*The Times*, October 21.)

On October 28, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta accepted the presidency of K.A.N.U. His decision brought immediate and scornful reactions from several leaders of the K.A.D.U., who accused him of having become a mere factional leader. Mr. W. C. Murgor, a fiercely separatist leader of the Kalenjin tribal group, sent him a telegram ironically congratulating him upon having joined the "Kikuyu Party". Mr. T. Towett, K.A.D.U.'s political adviser, said: "This means that Jomo is finished." However, the more general feeling among observers in Nairobi was that Mr. Kenyatta might succeed in pulling K.A.N.U. together and giving it the sense of purpose and direction which it has recently lacked.

His acceptance of the presidency was announced in the Parliament building after a four-hour meeting attended by the K.A.N.U. Parliamentary Group and representatives of all the Party's branches. Others who attended as guests were some of Mr. Kenyatta's old associates, whose recent reappearance in Kenya politics has caused anxiety to people of all races. They included Mr. Paul Ngei, whose extremist statements on land titles have been rejected both by K.A.N.U. and Mr. Kenyatta; Mr. Achieng Oneko, Mr. Kenyatta's private secretary; and Mr. Peter Mbiu Koinange, secretary-general of the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa.

Asked whether he thought he was taking the course most likely to lead to unity in Kenya, Mr. Kenyatta replied: "I think so." In answer to another question he denied that he had waited a long time before coming to his decision, and added: "Everything has its time, and this is the time." (*The Times*, October 30.)

Mr. Michael Blundell who arrived in London on October 30 described Mr. Kenyatta's decision as "a great pity because he must inevitably become identified with K.A.N.U. and the Kikuyu tribe and that will convince the minorities that he must favour these rather than the country as a whole". (*The Times*, October 31.)

## Indian Congress Join Opposition

The Government suffered a blow to its prestige on October 17 when the executive of the Kenya Indian Congress Party directed its three Legislative Council members to cross the floor and join the Opposition.

The Congress is the senior of the two Asian political parties here and was one of the three props with the New Kenya Party, and the Kenya African Democratic Union, in supporting the coalition Government formed in April. Two Congress members obeyed their executive's instructions but the third, who is Minister of Works, refused to resign and go into opposition. The Congress executive explained that it now supported the Kenya African National Union, since it believed that the breakdown of the constitutional talks was the fault of K.A.D.U. members of the Government, who had shown obstinacy in negotiating a broader-based government. (*Guardian*, October 18.)

On October 23, a new Kenya political party, the Kenya Citizen's Democratic Party, was formed in Nairobi by a group that has broken away from the Kenya Indian Congress. They claimed the Congress has lost its ability to look after the interests of the Colony's Asian community.

Mr. R. B. Patel, general secretary of the Congress, submitted his resignation. He was protesting against Congress's decision to withdraw its support for the Kenya African Democratic Union. (*Daily Telegraph*, October 24.)

## Constitutional Talks

Constitutional talks in Nairobi which had opened on September 4<sup>th</sup> suffered a set-back when the K.A.N.U. representatives walked out on September 7. The president of K.A.N.U., Mr. James Gichuru, stated that the joint memorandum had become a matter of argument between K.A.N.U. and K.A.D.U. at the talks. "We decided to call for Mr. Kenyatta's immediate participation, to bring the unifying influence which he

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IX, 2.

..

exercised earlier," he said. The statement read by Mr. Gichuru said K.A.N.U. had always worked for unity, and strongly felt the present talks to be an occasion for advancing Kenya towards *uhuru*. It was only after K.A.N.U.'s persistent demands that Mr. Macleod agreed to the constitutional talks, to be followed by a conference in London.

"It was our belief that both K.A.N.U. and K.A.D.U. would press the Governor, and through him the Colonial Secretary on all the points agreed in the joint memorandum." They had also felt that Mr. Kenyatta should be associated with the discussions but agreed that he should not be brought in before they had completed discussions on his entry into Legislative Council.

K.A.N.U. was even prepared to continue the discussions in the absence of Mr. Kenyatta if the unity achieved between K.A.N.U. and K.A.D.U. was maintained and the joint memorandum respected. "In the course of the last two days we have increasingly become convinced that K.A.D.U. was not honouring the joint agreement," Mr. Gichuru said. The Party firmly demanded that Mr. Kenyatta take part in any talks from now on.

Mr. Ngala said last night: "I strongly protest at K.A.N.U. taking this unilateral decision on Kenyatta without first consulting K.A.D.U. The spirit of unity is being destroyed. I accept unity, but not with K.A.N.U.'s domination. The move for an adjournment was not carried because K.A.N.U. did not put forward a convincing enough case." (*East African Standard*, September 8.)

The talks continued without K.A.N.U. representatives, but an adjournment until September 19 was decided to enable the various Party groups to decide on their attitude to the problems of an interim Government. (*The Times*, September 16.)

It was reported in *The Times* (September 22) that the talks were again on the verge of breakdown and it was believed that Mr. J. S. Gichuru had been in touch with Mr. Macleod, the Colonial Secretary, privately through an intermediary, asking him to call them off. The immediate cause of the breakdown was the failure of K.A.N.U. and K.A.D.U. to reach agreement on the composition of an interim coalition Government.

Underlying this was K.A.N.U.'s growing feeling that the present talks meant little and that the constitutional conference under Mr. Macleod was where the important decisions on Kenya's future would be made. The two Parties differed on their interpretation of the word "parity". Both agreed that each should have parity with the other in the coalition.

The talks were again adjourned on September 26 when K.A.N.U. representatives announced their willingness to break the deadlock on the composition of the interim Government by accepting with slight modification a compromise plan. K.A.N.U. members said they stood by their original position that while all African portfolios could be shared with K.A.N.U., Non-African ministries must be unchanged.

K.A.N.U. in turn wanted a say in the distribution of these Non-African ministries, but was willing to accept the idea produced by Mr. Clive Salter, the Kenya Coalition member, that Non-African portfolios be nominated on the basis of one each, by his Party, by the Europeans of the K.A.D.U. group, by those in the K.A.N.U. group, and by independent members. (*The Times*, September 27.)

Talks reopened briefly on October 2 before another adjournment. Before the resumption K.A.N.U. came out with a threat that if the decisions finally reached by the conference were not in accord with its views, all parliamentary members of the Party would resign their seats. This, a Party spokesman declared, would create a critical situation in Kenya and drive home the Party's desires. It was felt that the Party's other weapon, an organized boycott of parliamentary business, would not have the same effect. (*The Times*, October 3.)

On October 6 the Kenya constitutional talks at Government House virtually petered out when K.A.N.U. decided to withdraw, though the remaining delegates were to continue "exploratory discussions". The two African parties were still unable to agree on the distribution of ministries in an interim coalition Government and K.A.N.U. said at the end of the session it saw no point in continuing with other matters till this issue was settled.

According to an official statement on the talks the Governor was reporting to Mr. Macleod, the Colonial Secretary, on the disagreement

and K.A.N.U. would take no further part until the Colonial Secretary's reply was received. (*The Times*, October 7.)

On October 8, the Governor of Kenya, Sir Patrick Renison, in a broadcast, laid the blame of the breakdown of the constitutional talks on K.A.N.U. He said he had been trying to form a strong central Government which would tackle the major problems of Kenya—the secessionist moves on the Coast and in the Northern Province, the tribal fears and the loss of confidence among farmers. He had hoped it would include representatives of the great tribal groups of the Kikuyu, Luo and Kamba which support K.A.N.U. “and yet provide firm and lasting recognition of the rights and freedoms of other groups such as the Masai, the Kalenjin, and the Abaluhya peoples” which make up K.A.D.U.

“Our talks have broken down,” he said, “because the fear of domination which assails some of these groups has not yet been adequately assuaged by the action or words of those who represent the numerically larger groups.”

He then strongly criticized the Kikuyu, recalling that the country had already faced and overcome one major attempt to enforce domination in what was called Mau Mau. Now “while recognizing the drive and ability in the Kikuyu areas which must play its part in the future Government”, people had been worried by several developments in those areas.

He listed the misbehaviour of youth groups, political corruption, public quarrelling inside K.A.N.U., the use of intimidation and of Communist money, and the continuation of oath-taking and subversive societies such as the Land Freedom Army. Similar evils existed in other areas but not on the same scale. He added that most of the K.A.N.U. leaders were as worried as anyone else about these things, but it was no good for them to pretend that the fears of other people do not exist or have no rational grounds.

Harmony could come to Kenya only by both groups proving they did not want to dominate. “K.A.N.U. could show that the fears that they were trying to dominate and smash all opposition were unfounded by some such gesture as coming into the Government without the sort of parity which they seek.” If it was not prepared to do that, he suggested it could still help the country by carrying on joint talks on land titles and future constitutions. Boycotts and walk-outs served no useful purpose, but only delayed independence. It was a topsy-turvy world in which we found African leaders producing this position of standstill. (*Guardian*, October 9.)

The *Kenya Weekly News* (October 13) commented that the failure of the constitutional talks at Government House might well increase the danger that the extremist elements within K.A.N.U. would now seek to force the pace. No doubt the more responsible leaders of K.A.N.U. were as worried as anyone else by the subversive activities of such illegal organizations as the Land Freedom Army and the Rift Valley Parliament, but they displayed a depressing inability to quash them. There was also within the Party a struggle for power and influence between the “Old Guard” of the Kenya African Union and the younger generation of politicians who had come to the fore since it was proscribed. Much of the distrust and dislike of K.A.N.U. was due to the Party's tendency to speak with conflicting voices so that none was sure where the real power and influence lies. There was also the marked readiness of K.A.N.U. to blame and to castigate everyone but themselves, and the unwillingness to recognize their own failings and the evil within their body politic. That was not to suggest that all the faults were within K.A.N.U. They were not; but they were more common and blatant within K.A.N.U. than elsewhere.

Meanwhile the need to restore confidence in the economy of Kenya grew the more desperate with every day of mud-slinging, vituperation and political machination.

Hope now rested not with political manoeuvres but with the injection into Kenya politics of a bit more realism, common sense and tolerance, and a greater appreciation that the differing peoples must either quickly learn to live together or perish separately. A design for living together was, surely, more sensible than chaos in the pattern of the Congo and killing famines.

Sir Patrick Renison flew to London on October 23 for consultations with Mr. Maudling the Colonial Secretary. Following consultations Mr. Maudling issued a statement saying that a Kenya constitutional conference would be held in London in the first quarter of 1962. The aims of the

London conference were described in Mr. Maudling's statement as: “To prepare the constitutional framework which offers the best chance of Kenya moving smoothly through internal self-government into a stable independence.” In the meantime, Mr. Maudling hoped to visit Kenya “to learn something about the country's problems at first hand”.

He urged the two Parties to continue the talks with the Governor so that, as far as possible, agreement could be reached in advance on the principles of the new constitution. (*Daily Telegraph*, November 3.)

## K.A.D.U. Plan for Federation

Details were given in London of the plan evolved by the Kenya African Democratic Union for a regional government system. Mr. P. J. H. Okondo, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Finance and Development, said it was in fact the scheme put forward by Mr. Ngala the K.A.D.U. leader, at the constitutional talks in Nairobi.

Mr. Okondo referred to the increase in tribal fears and suspicions since the release from restriction of Mr. Jomo Kenyatta. The proposal was that Kenya should be divided into four major regions. Though the exact delimitation is still tentative, the suggested regions are as follows:

*Eastern Region*—all the Coast Province (including the Coastal Strip). *Central Region*—to include perhaps the Kikuyu, Kamba, and associated communities; *Northern Region*—to include the Rendille, Marrielle, Boran, Gabra, Somalis, etc.; *Western Region*—to include the Abaluyia, Kalenjin, Luo, Kisii, the Masai, etc.

(Some tribes, Mr. Okondo stated, had intimated that they did not wish to be included in the regions stated.)

The regions would federate under a central government, with a written constitution. Regions would be responsible for matters affecting land, “provided that all regions accept individual land tenure and respect title deeds”; for Civil Service appointments in the regional government and for matters concerning local customs and traditions. To qualify as a region an area must be economically viable; must enjoy “reasonable political amity”; and “should consist as much as possible of people of the same aboriginal ethnic group”.

At the centre there would be two Houses of Parliament. Members would be elected to the House of Representatives by universal adult suffrage. On the Council of Elders regions would have equal representation. Both Houses would have equal legislative power and would sit for a fixed period (four years being suggested). Ministers would be outside the Legislature on the American pattern, and this would mean, Mr. Okondo explained, that M.P.s would be freer to vote without regard to party. It would also mean, he agreed, that opposition in the Legislature could not force the fall of the Government before the end of its term. Nairobi, as the capital, would be treated separately, and would be outside the regions, like Washington or Canberra.

Looking to the future, and the possibility of East African Federation, Mr. Okondo declared: “This idea of regional government is capable of unlimited extension and we hope it will be extended, with due consultation to apply to Uganda, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, the Rhodesias, and others that may wish to join. In this way we visualize a large state consisting of anything up to thirty or forty regions and to be known as the ‘Federated States of Africa.’” (*The Times*, October 6.)

## K.A.N.U. Delegation to London

A delegation led by Mr. Jomo Kenyatta visited the Rt. Hon. R. Maudling, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in London, on November 8. The other members of the K.A.N.U. delegation were: James S. Gichuru (chairman Parliamentary Group); Tom Mboya (general secretary); Oginga Odinga (vice-president); F. Mati, M.L.C.; Bruce Mackenzie, M.L.C.; Peter Marrian, M.L.C.; Chanan Singh, M.L.C.; Fitz D' Souza, M.L.C.; Joseph Murumbi; Achieng Oneko; Dr. Mungai Njoroge.

In a memorandum they stated *inter alia*: “At the elections K.A.D.U. got a mere 150,000 votes to K.A.N.U.'s 550,000 votes; today in Legco they have a total of twenty-eight members, including all their allies, some of whom like Blundell and Havelock, do not accept K.A.D.U.'s whip; others like Ali Aden Lord of the Northern Province are secessionists and

others like Alamoodo and Cleasby are coastal autonomists—this as against K.A.N.U.'s thirty-two members under K.A.N.U. whip, supported at the moment on this issue by the three members of the Kenya European Coalition Party. It should be realized that K.A.N.U.'s members include Kisii, Kamba, Taita, Giriama, Masai, Turkana, Luo, Embu, Meru and Kikuyu tribesmen, in addition to three prominent Europeans, two of whom had been ministers in the so-called K.A.D.U. Government who declined further office because the set-up was not democratic. These gentlemen have held high positions among the European farming community and in Kenya generally, such as presidency of the Royal Agricultural Society of Kenya by Mr. Mackenzie and presidency of Kenya National Farmers Union by Mr. Marrian; and nine out of the eleven Asian members of Legco. The two Asian members remaining on K.A.D.U.'s side have been expelled from the Indian Congress and have no longer any right to claim to speak for their community. The only way K.A.D.U. could remain in the Government under a democratic system would be in a coalition accepted by the majority party, otherwise they should be called upon to resign so that a K.A.N.U. Government is formed. To abuse these democratic principles at this stage is to set a precedent that may destroy Kenya in the future and lead any small vociferous group to believe that they have a right to form a government in the future. After all under the British Colonial régime we have been for sixty years taught the worthiness and rightness of democracy.

"In the debate in Legco over a K.A.N.U. motion calling for immediate constitutional talks in London, the voting in the division was thirty-two opposition members for and thirty K.A.D.U. and supporters against. Thus democratically this should have been recorded as the decision of Kenya Legco. But the machine of the fifteen nominated members was put into action under Government whip to give the Government a majority. It is for this reason that our people cannot accept the present Government. They regard it as the agent and mouthpiece of British Colonialism.

"Mention must be made of Mr. Blundell and Mr. Havelock. These people scraped through at the European primary elections this year and were elected only through K.A.N.U. support. Having no support from their own community and having betrayed K.A.N.U. and lost its support they hang on precariously to office in the knowledge that they can only rely on the Colonial Office. Their selfish aims and personal ambition have caused most of the mischief in Kenya.

"K.A.N.U. believes in African unity and has always striven for this. A new country such as Kenya can only face the challenge ahead in unity and national leadership. The interests of the minorities and immigrant communities would be safe in a united country rather than a divided one. It is ironical that those who have in the past demanded a two-party system, leading to the division of the country based on tribe and personalities in the absence of real political differences, are the same persons who now accuse K.A.N.U. of dividing the country. They cannot call for tribal isolation and have unity at the same time. K.A.N.U. calls for tribal and racial integration and the guarantee of individual safeguards under a strong and stable central Government with a suitably and effectively developed local government system. We have always criticized the Government's local government development programme and believe that had this process of democratization of local government been accelerated, most of our present problems would not have arisen. Regionalism is impracticable, costly and dangerous to Kenya's unity. K.A.N.U.'s stand on land has been made clear. We stand by the joint K.A.N.U.-K.A.D.U. memorandum—the guarantee of land titles, property rights and security for tribal land with fair compensation in the event of any form of acquisition. Tanganyika has set us an example by her citizenship law and K.A.N.U. looks on this as a useful guide for East Africa.

"We must emphasize too our commitment to East African Federation as economically and politically necessary for our future. Any delay of independence in Kenya could seriously jeopardize this federation and the British Government must be made to recognize this.

"In conclusion we are deeply concerned at the efforts made by various people—the Governor, Blundell, Havelock and their friends, to discredit and even divide K.A.N.U. by playing its leaders against each other and tribe against tribe. This is a dangerous move which could cause serious

damage to the prospects of Kenya nationhood and thereby in fact create a grave threat to the immigrant and minority groups who would be the losers in the event of a conflict. We are dedicated to a united Kenya within an East African Federation and call for an immediate conference in London, under the Secretary of State's chairmanship, as the surest way to safeguard Kenya's future."

The talks were continued on November 10. At their conclusion a joint communique was issued. It stated that the delegation had given at length their appreciation of the Kenya situation and above all they represented that the holding of a constitutional conference was a matter of urgency and expressed the strong hope that it could be held before the end of the year if possible. The question of amendment of the law governing qualification for membership of the Legislative Council was raised. The Secretary of State said that the matter was receiving his attention and he would be making a statement on it shortly.

The Secretary of State assured the delegation that Her Majesty's Government had no intention of delaying constitutional progress in Kenya. He fully accepted that it was important to hold a constitutional conference as soon as possible, but it was also essential, if the conference was to be successful and not unduly prolonged, that the ground for it should be adequately prepared.

Mr. Maudling stated that he himself would visit Kenya before the end of November. He would be ready during his visit to consider the position in the light of progress made by then and would hope to announce the date on which he would hold the conference in London.

Meanwhile Mr. Maudling was making urgent preparations for a constitutional expert to go to Kenya. The expert's function would be to assist the groups concerned to formulate detailed proposals as a basis for consideration at the forthcoming conference.

## Tribal Differences

Mr. A. C. C. Swann, Minister for Defence, accused African politicians of fostering tribalism with inflammatory statements. Tribalism in the Kalenjin areas had only really come into being during the past six months, he said, and relations there would still have been happy if it had not been for the statements of political leaders.

Speaking of Kenya generally, he said that the country would always have a militant Kikuyu nationalism. Mr. Swann was speaking in Kericho, in the heart of the Kalenjin country on November 9, where he had been inquiring into recent reports of tribal differences in the area. He said that he had met officials of K.A.D.U., Luo office bearers and Kipsigis chiefs. "A prevailing theme throughout the discussions has been fear," he went on. Politicians were fostering tribalism "by insulting rival tribal leaders at meetings, and abusing them by saying such things as: 'We don't want foreigners in our area', and 'Look out for chaps over the border'. It was a vicious circle in which each reacted to the other." (*The Times*, November 10.)

## Coastal Strip Inquiry

Mr. Macleod, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the Sultan of Zanzibar jointly appointed Sir James Robertson as a Commissioner to examine the question of the Kenya Coastal Strip. He began his work in East Africa about October 4, and will report to the Sultan and the British Government on the changes considered advisable in the 1895 agreement as a result of the course of constitutional development in East Africa.

The agreement between the British Government and the then Sultan, provides that the land, which includes the port of Mombasa, shall remain under the sovereignty of the Sultan, but be administered by Britain.

Sir James Robertson spent most of his life in the Sudan political service. He was chairman of the British Guiana constitutional Commission, from 1953 to 1954. In 1955 he went to Nigeria, and was Governor-General at the time of independence last year. (*The Times*, September 23.)

A correspondent in *The Times* (October 11) reported that feeling was running high in the Coastal Strip between supporters of autonomy for the region and those who oppose it. After the arrest of seventeen Africans in connexion with intimidation and a boycott of Arab traders, the Commissioner, Sir James Robertson, issued a statement condemning both the intimidation and the boycott.

Mr. John Pinney, District Commissioner, Mombasa, said that in spite of a warning given gangs went round Mombasa calling on Arabs to close their shops, and telling customers to boycott them. The formation of processions and demonstrations and the gathering of crowds were forbidden, and any arms found on people would be confiscated.

A joint committee of the Mombasa branches of the National and Democratic Unions and of the trade unions has called for a boycott of Arab traders, who are believed to be the main supporters of Coastal autonomy. The police were out in force when Sir James began taking evidence. Several hundred Africans and Arabs who met head on were dispersed by riot police.

## The Land Question

An angry meeting of European farmers at Limuru on September 21 accused the Kenya Land Development and Settlement Board of undervaluing their land and assets. Mr. Ian Gordon, a farmer, told the meeting that in spite of an assurance from Mr. J. F. Lipscomb, chairman of the board, that land would be assessed at values obtaining before the Lancaster House constitutional conference, his farm had been grossly undervalued. A number of farmers, he said, had been told the most they could expect for a house was £1,300, whereas the average value of the houses offered was from £4,000 to £5,000.

Land had been valued at £37 10s. to £40 an acre, although £100 an acre was more realistic, Mr. Gordon said. He asked Mr. W. G. B. Raynor, District Commissioner of Kiambu, whether it was true that African land had been valued at £120 an acre. Mr. Raynor answered: "Even higher than that." (*The Times*, September 22.)

Clyde Sanger commented in the *Guardian* (October 27) on the decision of the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Michael Blundell, to visit London. Mr. Blundell was going to tell the British Government that its terms for resettlement of about 300,000 acres of the former White Highlands with 20,000 African farmers have proved unacceptable.

In September it was announced that Britain would contribute the major amount towards a scheme to resettle 100,000 Africans (farmers and families) during the next two years at a cost of £14.25 million.<sup>1</sup>

The terms announced in September had increased farmers' depression. Under them farmers were to receive a down payment of one-third the value of their farm on leaving it and the rest in equal instalments over the following seven years, which would in the meantime accumulate 5 per cent annual interest. Desperate as some farmers were few have been found to accept such terms. The Land Settlement Board had offers for sale of more than 1 million acres before this announcement. Now most of these offers have been withdrawn, Mr. Blundell admitted.

## Famine

*East Africa and Rhodesia* (November 16) reported that incessant and heavy rains during the previous two weeks had washed away what little grazing two years of drought had left in many parts of Kenya and flattened crops twice replanted after a plague of army worm, thus rendering great areas famine stricken for a second year running. About 500,000 Africans were in need of relief. The situation was regarded as being the worst natural disaster which the Colony has suffered since the 1898 famine. Movement of relief supplies was dangerously restricted by flooding.

Britain had given £300,000; a fund organized by British troops in Kenya brought in £30,000; and the United States has sent maize worth £400,000—but most of this had already gone. Mr. Humphrey Slade, chairman of the National Food Relief Committee, stated that another £60,000 must be collected to cover transport costs and to buy supplementary milk and food.

Reports in the *Daily Telegraph* were quoted stating that neither K.A.N.U. nor K.A.D.U. had made any sizeable contribution to famine relief. "Leaders of Kenyatta's K.A.N.U. faction, now on an expensive excursion to Europe, have even sneered at the work of the Royal Air Force, which is giving Trojan services to Kenya's starving Africans with its food dropping."

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IX, 2.

Neither party has started any special relief programme it continued: "Contributions to relief funds by individual Africans have been strikingly meagre—this though there are many wealthy Africans in Kenya. Mr. Ngala has shown little active interest in famine relief work. Yet he did feel moved to say that money spent by Mr. Kenyatta and the National Union delegation in lobbying in London might have been better used on famine relief."

On November 14, Mr. James Gichuru, M.L.C., issued the following statement: "Some British newspapers have reported that the African leaders of Kenya do not seem concerned at the famine conditions in our country. This report is false as will be shown by this summary of our actions on this question. K.A.N.U. and K.A.D.U. both set up famine relief committees. Mr. Bruce Mackenzie, with the support of Mr. Tom Mboya, moved in the Legislature that action against the famine should be co-ordinated. This motion had the support of the whole House. The result was the Famine Relief Committee of Kenya of which Mr. Humphrey Slade was appointed chairman. Both African parties have made contributions from their funds towards famine relief."

# Somali Republic

## Somali Unity

In a speech to the General Assembly of the U.N., the Hon. Abdullahi Issa Mohamud, Minister for Foreign Affairs, stated that the U.N. must seek a speedy solution of Somalia's border problems.

"The dismemberment (in the last century) of the Somali territory is a matter of vital concern to Somalis wherever they may reside. The Somalis are technically and culturally homogenous and possess a common tradition, religion and language.

"The Somali Government and the Somali people want the unification of Somalis in a single national entity to be obtained by peaceful and legal means. So far, we have been able to achieve the reunification of the former Trust Territory of Somalia and the former Somaliland Protectorate and we hope that the rest of our territories will be restored to us soon by peaceful negotiations.

"One portion of Somali territory still under the yoke of foreign rule is French Somaliland. . . . In order to suppress the national aspirations of the Somalis there, the French imperialists have employed excessively harsh measures, including large scale arrests and intimidation. The absurd results of the referendum held in French Somaliland in 1958 is ample proof of the hypocrisy of the French colonialists. The inhumane measures taken by the French authorities to eradicate Somali nationalism has been intensifying since the attainment of our independence. . . .

"During the process of colonial expansion and the consequent dismemberment of our country, Ethiopia seized the opportunity to absorb a large portion of Somali territory. The Somalis who inhabit this territory have repeatedly voiced their desire to join their brothers in the Somali Republic.

"Still another section of Somali territory lost to foreign jurisdiction is today considered a part of Kenya.

"The dismemberment of Somali territory by foreign powers has produced serious tensions. It is likely to endanger the peace and stability of the Horn of Africa. . . . We are convinced that the one and only solution lies in the granting of the right to self-determination of the Somalis still under foreign rule, this right to self-determination to be expressed through some form of plebiscite conducted under the supervision of an impartial body.

"In 1949 Somalia was placed under the U.N. Trusteeship System and Italy was appointed as the Administering Authority. Since the boundary between Somalia and Ethiopia was not then defined, Italy accepted with reservation the Provisional Administrative Line, arbitrarily drawn by Ethiopia and Great Britain without the knowledge or consent of the Somali people directly concerned.

"The U.N. on several occasions recommended that both Ethiopia and Italy intensify their efforts to achieve a just, equitable and final settlement of the boundary question.

"Despite these recommendations, the problem remains unsolved. We are profoundly concerned about the absence of a defined boundary. . . . The situation is aggravated further by frequent Ethiopian troops movements along the Provisional Administrative Line as well as by the continual entry of Ethiopian Armed Forces into our territory and by violations of our air-space by Ethiopian military planes. Our very existence as a sovereign State has been repeatedly endangered by this unresolved boundary problem.

"Another serious problem which the Somali Republic faces derives from the transfer of parts of the Somali territory known as the Reserved Areas and the Haud by Great Britain to Ethiopia in the Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty of November, 1954. These regions which are exclusively inhabited by Somalis are the main grazing areas for the Somalis who inhabit adjacent regions.

"The restrictions which were imposed by Ethiopian authorities on the free movement of Somalis residing in the area and the denial of access to vital water supplies to Somalis were the main causes which led to the serious incident of Danot in which many Somalis, including women and children, were brutally massacred by the Ethiopian Armed Forces. Other serious incidents in which many Somalis lost their lives and property under similar circumstances occurred at Aisha'a Biyo Anod and Dagahbour.

"These and similar massacres convince us that Somalis inhabiting in Ethiopian-held territories are systematically persecuted. Although such frequent brutalities occur outside the present territorial limits of the Somali Republic we can remain neither silent nor indifferent to the plight of our Somali brothers who lack security and protection for their lives and property." (*The Somali News*, October 13.)

In an article in the *East African Standard* (November 9) the Hon. Abdullahi Issa Mohamud, Somalia's Foreign Minister, stated that unification is part of Somalia's national policy. He wrote: "All that we are asking for is that the Somali homeland, which has been unjustly partitioned must now be reunited." He added that Somalia would consider favourably any invitation to join a future East African Federation. (*The Times*, November 10.)

## New Government's Programme

Under the new Constitution, the President, the Hon. Adan Abdullah Osman, reappointed Dr. Abdurashid Ali Sharmarke as Prime Minister. On August 19 the Prime Minister introduced the programme of his new Government and received an overwhelming vote of confidence. He referred in his speech to the decision of the National Assembly intended to limit the number of Ministers and said that in consequence he felt he had to offer his resignation to the President. "However," he continued, "in consideration especially of the urgent political requirements of the Somali Republic, and although appreciating the action taken by me and my colleagues, the Head of the State did not find it advisable to enlarge the crisis by opening new consultations. By confirming once more his confidence in me, he has therefore asked to accept the task of continuing to head the Government and to modify its composition in accordance with the new law approved by the Assembly. I have considered it my duty to accept the President's offer out of a feeling of political responsibility which to me, seemed above any other consideration, even personal." The new Government he said, "has almost the same composition as the preceding one".

He continued by saying that loans from the United Arab Republic, the German Federal Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, for a total amount of approximately 500 million Somali shillings to be utilized for economic development work within the next years, as well as the direct financial assistance which will continue to be given by the Italian Republic, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and the Social Fund of the European Economic Community, render it today possible for us to assume precise engagements in the knowledge that we will be able to keep them.

While indicating the works to be undertaken one cannot disregard the natural situation and establish that—independently of the present prospecting for liquid and gaseous fuel which seems to offer favourable ex-

pectations but still no certainty—the economy of Somalia remains based, above all, on animal husbandry, agriculture and fisheries. . . .

The greatest obstacle to a further increase of the production is represented by the price problem. In order to obtain a reduction thereof, a series of infrastructural works would be required for the realization of which we can today also count on a special fund. The utilization of this fund will be subject to a cautious control on the part of the Government.

A brief summary of the planned projects was given as follows:

Increase of the banana production and development of grapefruit cultivation on an area of 5 thousand hectares; marmalade and fruit juice industries;

5 thousand hectares put under oil-seed cultivation; at least two oil mills in different areas of the country;

5 thousand hectares put under cotton cultivation; plants for cotton weaving, spinning and manufacture;

Cultivation of cereals; mills and macaroni factories;

Cultivation of sugar cane: a new sugar mill.

"According to recent data, the export of livestock from Somalia amounts to a value of 32.9 million Somali shillings (4.5 from the Southern and 28.4 from the Northern Regions) representing a share equal to 22.6 per cent of the total exports. On the other hand, the export of leather untanned hides and skins amount to a value of 20.2 million Somali shillings divided between the Southern (9.6) and Northern Regions (10.6) corresponding to 13.9 per cent of the total export value.

"However, the Government is aware of the fact that the basis of this problem is water. . . . A project for seventy wells is already in execution.

"In the communications sector, the Government may commit itself to building two ports, building of an international airport in Mogadiscio, and the strengthening and improvement of the road system."

The Prime Minister said: "The economic development that I have briefly outlined will necessarily have considerable repercussions in the social field by increasing, first of all, the employment possibilities—primary as well as secondary—within the framework of the rightful protection of workers which we intend to carry out to an ever increasing extent. Higher degree of employment and improved standard of living are our goals, jointly with the connected achievements in the fields of health, education and social benefits in general."

He concluded: "We intended above all on this occasion to answer the questions of poor people, to answer to the expectations of those who own little, the questions which logically can be put to us concerning the basis on which our economic and social welfare, placed before the political, will be built to answer to the obligations towards our brothers still living under a different banner for a secure future under the Somali Republic." (*Somali News*, August 26.)

## Sudan

### Washington Talks

GENERAL IBRAHIM ABOUD, President of the Sudan, has visited Washington on a State visit. After conferring with President Kennedy, a joint communique was issued. Their talks revealed that the two Presidents shared a common concern for the preservation of world peace, and a common reliance on the U.N. as the most effective instrument for maintaining peace.

The two Presidents considered that the current international situation underscored the importance of reaching, through negotiation, mutually acceptable solutions to existing disputes; especially when moral issues are involved, such as the right of self-determination, which belongs to the peoples of every continent.

President Abooud explained that the policy of non-alignment followed by the Republic of Sudan was designed to strengthen and consolidate the independence of the Sudan and to enable it to play a constructive role in the resolution of situations which are sources of international tensions.

President Kennedy confirmed that the United States fully endorsed the determination of the newly-independent countries of Africa to maintain their independence. He noted that the support given by the Sudan to

the mission of the U.N. in the Congo had contributed to an important extent to the maintenance of that country's independence and territorial integrity.

President Abboud explained to President Kennedy the steps the Sudan was taking to promote economic development and social justice. The two Presidents agreed that talks would continue between their advisers with respect to expanding and expediting their co-operation in key areas in which the United States can most effectively assist the self-help efforts of the Republic of the Sudan.

In an address to the National Press Club President Abboud said: "We are a democratic people by our nature. In this respect we do not need to import into our country a democracy foreign to us. Implantation of foreign democratic systems has proved unsuitable to many of the African societies because of the difference in tradition, culture and social set-up. Suffice it to say that your country devised a unique democratic system which differs in important respects from the European system that preceded it.

"We are, therefore, in the process of devising a Sudanese system of government that suits the needs and genius of our people, always taking into consideration the enormity of our country, the contrasts within it of economic and social conditions. I am happy to announce that we have just completed a broad base for the pyramid and that we will continue to work indefatigably to complete it to the apex."

He continued by saying: "We are presently engaged in an intensive programme of economic and social development. In this connexion, I wish to express my appreciation to the United States for the assistance they have rendered and may render to us and in helping us help ourselves. We welcome economic assistance without discrimination and from private and public sources as long as it does not interfere with our principles and policies. Our doors are open for the private investor and there are ample openings in my country for useful investments. We encourage foreign capital by all means and methods and we guarantee and protect it against exploitation, discrimination and many other risks. The foreign concerns which presently exist in our country are operating in complete freedom and to the great satisfaction of my Government." (*The Sudan Daily*, October 8.)

## Tanganyika

### Independence Preparations

TANGANYIKA becomes independent on December 9. Sixty-five countries have each been invited to send delegates. The Minister for Home Affairs, Mr. George Kahman, is chairman of the Celebrations Committee. He said the Duke of Edinburgh was expected to arrive on Friday, December 8, flying direct from the Gambia where he would have been accompanying the Queen on a tour of West Africa.

The Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, with the approval of the Prime Minister, designated Mr. Neil Pritchard, at present acting as a Deputy Under-Secretary of State in the Commonwealth Relations Office, to be the first head of the British mission to be established in Dar-es-Salaam. (*The Times*, September 8.)

Mr. Nyerere stated in the National Assembly that recognition accorded to the Portuguese Consul-General, Senhor Octavio Neto Valerio, to be Consul-General for Portugal in Tanganyika had been revoked from October 17. There was loud applause when Mr. Nyerere made the statement. Mr. Nyerere added that the Portuguese Consul would be leaving Tanganyika within a fortnight. (*The Times*, October 19.)

An article in the *Kenya Weekly News* (October 20) stated that by December 9, 1963, all citizens of Britain, India, or anywhere else in the world who were still living in Tanganyika would have to decide if they wanted to become Tanganyikans and renounce their former citizenship or remain "foreigners". Dual nationality would not be permitted after December 9, 1963, and the paper stated that there should be no "division of loyalty, and citizens should owe loyalty only to Tanganyika".

Two years was a reasonable period allowed for individuals to make up their minds, and by that time two points should be clear: how Tanganyika had settled down to Independence, and how "foreigners" were going to be treated in such matters as property rights, taxation, education, etc. On December 9, this year, all persons becoming Tanganyika citizens by operation of the law, who also remained citizens of some other country, would have two years in which to renounce that other citizenship.

Tanganyika citizens born after December 8 this year, and who obtained another citizenship, would have to choose between the two within one year of reaching the age of 21. Anyone over 21 who voluntarily becomes a citizen of another country would have to choose between the two within the year. Anyone entitled to register as a Tanganyika citizen who wished to register, or any person who applied to be naturalized as such, would be obliged to renounce any other citizenship.

All British Protected Persons and citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies born in Tanganyika, one of whose parents was born in Tanganyika, would acquire Tanganyika citizenship automatically on December 9. Anyone who was a citizen of a Commonwealth country would be eligible to obtain Tanganyika citizenship by registration after December 9 next. Aliens would only be able to obtain it by naturalization. The residential qualifications for persons wishing to apply for citizenship by registration was five or six years' residence in Tanganyika.

The new citizenship laws would undoubtedly cause much heart-searching to East Africans with dual citizenship who regarded Tanganyika as home but who had always felt the need for a second home to go to just in case of difficulties. But they had two years' grace, and if they could not decide by the end of 1963, then Tanganyika could probably do without such citizens.

### Civil Service

Nearly 700 African officers now hold senior posts in the Civil Service, a significant increase since December, 1956, when only 112 such appointments existed.

In the past 12 months the number of Africans in senior posts had increased by 263 and there were 203 local officers of other races in posts at the same level, making a total of 888 senior posts now in the hands of local people. The total establishment was 4,889 so that Africans now filled 14 per cent of them. There were 1,187 established senior posts vacant or filled by temporary staff—waiting for African appointees.

In the Prime Minister's office, nearly 25 per cent of senior posts were now held by African officers. (*Kenya Weekly News*, November 3.)

### Education

A Bill providing for a single system of education applicable to all races in Tanganyika was published on September 15. Under the terms of the Education Bill, 1961, the Minister for Education would assume overall responsibility for promoting education and developing schools within the Territory. An Advisory Committee would be set up to advise the Minister upon educational policy in the Territory. Every Local Authority (i.e. Municipal, Town and District Councils) would also be the local education authority for the primary schools within the area of its jurisdiction.

Provision was made for Boards of Governors or School Committees to be set up for both Government Schools and Assisted Schools. Before any school was established or maintained, the school itself, the owner and the manager of the school and any teachers (other than purely religious) must be approved, and where necessary, registered in accordance with the provisions of the Bill. No pupil would be refused admission to any school on the grounds of his religion. The Bill also provided for the repeal of existing legislation including the Non-Native Education Tax. (*Tanganyika Information Services*, September 14.)

### Famine

A delegation of M.P.s to see Mr. Maudling was formed following a report by Mr. Tristram Betts, the special investigator sent to Tanganyika by the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief. Reporting back after a ten-day tour of Central Province Mr. Betts said the cost of meeting the famine could seriously impair the economy of the new nation. If Britain made the grant it would have a profound impact on African thinking.

Three hundred thousand people were already receiving emergency rations from the Government and the famine had not yet reached its height. By December more than 500,000 people were likely to be existing on rationed maize. The ration was sufficient to prevent starvation but not enough to avoid malnutrition.

The famine had arisen from lack of rain coupled with an attack of army worm on the already poor crops. Because of lack of water nearly half the cattle in the area would die in the next few months. This meant the loss of 500,000 head of cattle and a similar amount of other "small stock". The loss would have a vital effect on the nation's economy.

The United States was sending free maize to Tanganyika but the cost of distribution was a serious strain on the economy. So was the cost of relief work, such as road building, even though men given this work were being paid only 1s. 6d. a day. The cost of meeting the famine was likely to be between £1 million and £1½ million. This would mean "a major disruption of development plans," Mr. Betts said. "Education and other social services will have to go by the board for the time being."

Mr. Betts said the Tanganyika Prime Minister, Mr. Nyerere, had asked him to give the maximum publicity to the country's plight. The famine area was mainly in Central Province but also affected the Northern and Tanga provinces. (*Guardian*, October 27.)

# Uganda

## Constitutional Conference

UGANDA is to become independent on October 9, 1962, provided the necessary legal arrangements can be made by that time. Full internal self-government will come into force on March 1, 1962. Elections will be held by the middle of April. These dates were announced on October 9 by the Colonial Office after the final session of the Constitutional Conference at Lancaster House, London.

Afterwards Mr. Benedicto Kiwanuka, the Chief Minister of Uganda and leader of the Democratic Party, expressed pleasure at the result of the conference. "This conference as a whole has been a tremendous success for democracy," he said. "As far as we are concerned we have managed to bring the Lukiko willingly into the Legislative Council." The conference was remarkable both in getting representatives of the Kingdom of Buganda sitting round the same table as delegates from the rest of Uganda and in producing a wide measure of agreement. (*The Times*, October 10.)

A summary of the other proposals is as follows:

### The Central Constitution

(i) *The Governor*—The Governor will be appointed by the Queen. There will be a Deputy Governor.

(ii) *The Legislature*—There will be a single chamber legislature, called the National Assembly, made up entirely of elected members.

(iii) *The Franchise*—Universal adult suffrage will be introduced.

(iv) *The Executive*—The general executive will pass to a Cabinet, headed by a Prime Minister. The Cabinet will be responsible to the National Assembly, from which all its members will be drawn.

(v) *The Governor's powers*—The Governor, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, will continue to be responsible in his discretion for foreign affairs, defence and the armed forces. He will also retain a final responsibility for internal security and the operational control of the police, which will normally be delegated to a Minister.

(vi) *The Judiciary*—The High Court of Uganda will have full original jurisdiction, and exclusive jurisdiction in constitutional matters. In constitutional matters appeals will lie direct to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Appeals in other cases will go, as before, to the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa. The Chief Justice will be appointed by the Governor after consultation with the Prime Minister and the President of the Court of Appeal. Other judges and judicial officers will be appointed on the recommendation of an independent Judicial Service Commission.

(vii) *The Public Service*—An independent Public Service Commission will be responsible for appointments and discipline. A compensation

scheme for overseas officers will be introduced; details, including details of the classes of officers to whom the scheme will apply, will be announced later. A Public Officers Agreement safeguarding the pensions and other conditions of service of overseas officers for whom the Secretary of State has a special responsibility will be concluded between the British and Uganda Governments.

(viii) *Special Officers*—Special arrangements will be made for the appointment and tenure of office of the Director of Public Prosecutions, the Director of Audit and the Inspector General of Police.

(ix) *Fundamental Rights*—The Constitution will include a chapter safeguarding fundamental rights and freedom. These provisions will be enforceable by the High Court of Uganda. The Conference rejected a proposal that a Council of State should be set up.

(x) *Police*—The responsibilities of the Uganda Police Force will cover the whole country (the National Assembly will have power to establish local police forces and arrangements for co-ordinating the two types of force were considered by the Conference).

(xi) *The Capital*—Kampala will be the capital of Uganda.

(xii) *Language*—English will be the official language.

### Relationships between the Central Government and Other Authorities

*Buganda*—The existing Buganda Agreements (except the Clan Cases Agreement 1924) will be replaced by a new Agreement covering the period of internal self-government and a draft Agreement was initialled on October 9 by the Secretary of State, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, and by the Katikiro of Buganda, on behalf of the Kabaka's Government. The principal provisions about the relationships between Uganda and Buganda will be given constitutional force in the constitution of Uganda. Other provisions governing the relationship between the two Governments will be provided for in the Agreement. The following are the main provisions in the draft Agreement.

(i) Buganda's relationship with Uganda will be federal.

(ii) Buganda will be represented by twenty-one members elected in Buganda by direct elections unless the option of indirect elections described below is applicable. Three members will be directly elected from the constituencies in Kampala.

(iii) The Lukiko will be reconstituted as follows:

Directly elected members .. .. .	68
Nominees of H.H. the Kabaka .. .. .	6
<i>Ex officio</i> Members	
(a) (Saza) Chiefs .. .. .	20
(b) Ministers (elected by the Lukiko) .. .. .	6

*Note 1:* The number of Ministers, at present six, will be increased but the total number of Lukiko members will remain at 100, i.e. any additional Ministers will be drawn from one of the other three groups of members.

*Note 2:* The directly elected members will be elected by universal adult suffrage from numerically equal constituencies and by secret ballot.

(iv) The six Kabaka's nominees in the Lukiko, the six Ministers who are *ex officio* members of the Lukiko, and the directly elected members will decide by resolution whether Buganda representatives in the National Assembly will be directly elected, as elsewhere in Uganda; or whether they themselves should elect twenty-one persons to represent Buganda in the National Assembly.

(v) There will be lists of exclusive legislative powers for the central legislature and the Lukiko. Matters not covered in either list will be concurrent and in case of conflict central laws will prevail.

(vi) There will be a Buganda High Court. It will administer the same law and be staffed by the same Judges as the High Court of Uganda with which it will have concurrent jurisdiction, save in constitutional matters. The Kabaka will signify his consent to the appointment of the Judges of this Court by the new Agreement. Detailed arrangements for the lower courts in Buganda were also agreed.

(vii) Responsibility for the administration of additional services will be transferred to Buganda.

(viii) Kampala will be a municipality with its own Council as at present. In exercising his responsibilities in relation to Kampala the Central

Government Minister concerned will be obliged to consult a joint advisory council on which the Kabaka's Government will be represented.

Special arrangements will be made for Entebbe and Njeru.

The present arrangements for the urban local government of Mubende will continue, pending further discussions between the Uganda Government and the Kabaka's Government.

The Central Government's responsibility for urban local government in other towns in Buganda will pass to the Buganda Government. Until Buganda creates its own urban authority legislation the present law will continue to apply.

(ix) In addition to the Uganda police force there will be a Buganda police force which will have its own commander under the overall command of the Inspector General of Police. The Governor will make no delegation of his responsibilities in respect of the operational control of the Buganda police force. The Uganda police force will operate in Buganda.

(x) Buganda will continue to receive grants from the Central Government. It will also have its own sources of revenue. There will be consultation between the two Governments about Buganda's annual estimates of revenue and expenditure. The public accounts of the Kabaka's Government will be audited by the Director of Audit and the Lukiko will establish a Public Accounts Committee.

#### **The Kingdoms of Ankole, Bunyoro and Toro**

It was agreed that the following arrangements, which will bring the Kingdoms into line with the constitutional arrangements for the rest of the country, should be made:

(i) New Agreements between Her Majesty's Government and the Kingdoms will be negotiated.

(ii) The provisions in these Agreements about the Rulers, the Ministers, the establishment of the Council, and the appointment of the officers and chiefs will be included in the Constitution of Uganda, and the Ruler and his Council will have exclusive power to pass measures on these matters.

(iii) Justice in the Kingdoms will be administered in the name of the Ruler.

(iv) The functions of the Administrations in the Kingdoms will be defined in the new Agreements and will be similar to those of the Administrations in the Districts (see below).

During internal self-government the Governor would have powers to ensure that Her Majesty's Government's obligations under the Agreements are carried out. When the time came he would propose that the independence constitution should provide:

- (a) The initiative for any change in entrenched provisions about the Kingdoms must come from the Kingdom Council and be supported by two-thirds of the Kingdom Council;
- (b) the proposal should require the support of a two-thirds majority in a referendum in the Kingdom; and
- (c) it should not take effect until confirmed by a two-thirds majority in the National Assembly.

#### **The Local Administrations**

The following arrangements were agreed:

(i) The Constitution will recognize existing District Constitutional Heads, including the Kyabazinga of Busoga, and the right of other Districts, subject to the Governor's approval, to create similar posts.

(ii) The Constitution will provide for an Administration Council in each District, nine-tenths of whose members will be directly elected by universal suffrage, and for the Council to decide the method of selection for the other members and certain related matters.

(iii) The Uganda Government will introduce legislation:

- (a) Permitting Councils which wish to do so to elect up to four Ministers, provided that in the opinion of the Central Government the Administration concerned is capable of supporting the expense;
- (b) transferring additional services to the local Administrations, and making appropriate financial arrangements;
- (c) conferring certain legislative powers on the local Administrations;
- (d) concerning the duties of permanent officials in the local Administrations and providing for independent Appointments Boards.

#### **Financial Relationships**

It is intended that a Fiscal Commission should be established to advise the Uganda Government, particularly on its financial relationships with the other authorities. Meanwhile certain changes will be made in the tax structure to give them additional revenue and the grants structure will be adjusted to take account of this, of the transfer to the other authorities of additional services and of certain other factors. It is recognized that no authority should receive less assistance than at present, after allowance has been made for additional revenue and commitments.

#### **Urban Local Government**

Apart from Kampala and the other towns in Buganda, there will be two classes of towns—fifteen major municipalities and towns including Jinja and Mbale, which will remain under Central Government control, and seventy-six smaller towns which will pass to the control of the local Administration in whose area they are situated.

The larger towns will have their own Councils and direct elections for these Councils will be introduced as soon as is practicable. They will be given responsibility for primary and junior secondary education and certain medical services in their areas in addition to the present township services. They will also receive additional revenue.

The Central Government will decide which of the smaller towns should have Town Boards. These Boards will administer services and levy rates as agents of the Administration concerned. They will come under the Urban Authorities Ordinance.

#### **Land**

The greater part of the land in Uganda is Crown Land. It will be divided as follows:

(i) The freehold of Crown Land in use by the Central Government will be transferred to a Uganda Land Commission.

(ii) The freehold of Crown Land in the larger towns will be transferred to a Land Board for the District which will grant it to the urban authority on a 199-year lease;

(iii) The freehold of land in use by Government agencies such as the East African Railways and the Uganda Electricity Board will be transferred to the agency, subject, where appropriate, to financial adjustments.

(iv) The remainder will be transferred to District Land Boards to be held on behalf of the people of the District. This will include National Parks, which will however retain their special status.

*Note 1:* Similar arrangements will be made in Buganda and the Kingdoms.

*Note 2:* Existing titles and rights of occupancy will not be affected. The "mailo" system in Buganda will continue.

*Note 3:* The Central Government will retain the mineral rights which it holds at present (the Central Government does not own the mineral rights in "mailo" land in Buganda).

#### **Internal Boundary Disputes**

The National Assembly will have power to appoint a Commission to investigate boundary disputes and make recommendations. The Secretary of State will ask the Prime Minister to appoint a Commissioner of Privy Counsellors to investigate the dispute over the Buganda-Bunyoro boundary.

#### **Constitutional Amendment**

It will not be possible to amend the Constitution except by Order-in-Council. (*Colonial Office Information Department, October 10.*)

#### **Comment**

At a Press conference Lord Perth, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, stated: "The most important thing that has come out is undoubtedly the fact that Buganda is going to play its part in Uganda as a whole. Up to date they have had a pretty feudal form of parliament. By and large, here you are getting for the first time a democratic form of government." (*The Times, October 11.*)

In an editorial *The Times* (October 11) commented that the successful conclusion of the Conference may prove to be Mr. Macleod's crowning

achievement as Colonial Secretary. . . . Even now, the new constitution—the final one before independence . . . was imposed, not agreed. But the area of accord blanketed the points still in dispute, and though important adjustments must be made after the elections next spring, on paper Uganda had a pact of permanent union. . . .

Buganda separatism was deep-rooted. The Lukiko's earlier "declaration of independence" was unrescinded. The struggle to weld a united people would be fierce before, and prolonged after, independence. The new constitution actually added to the local powers of the Buganda kingdom. Its possession of a separate police force, even though this was ultimately responsible to a central official, might prompt doubts whether elections would be uninfluenced by tribal powers. The Baganda traditionalists—often more royalist than the King—presumably saw political opportunities in the new Buganda agreement to have initialled it. Mr. Kiwanuka's majority was small now; a "Kabaka's party" might do a deal with Mr. Obote's opposition party (farther left though it is) to turn him out if he was re-elected. Buganda was tightly organized. But Britain could only hammer out a framework of co-operation within which tribal and modern African forces, working on each other, could forge a new state.

On October 13 the Governor, Sir Frederick Crawford, stated: "On the whole, I think Uganda has done very well out of this Conference. I think everybody was surprised that they got such a large measure of agreement and achieved a date for independence, October 9 next year."

Asked whether he could say if there were any unresolved issues, His Excellency said there was not a great deal. "The other open issue is whether the predominantly elected Lukiko will opt for direct elections or indirect elections. It is up to them." He continued: "The registration for elections for the new Lukiko will start as soon as possible and anybody who is entitled to vote will register in Buganda." (*Uganda News*, October 16.)

Mr. Kwebiha, Katikiro of Bunyoro, commented on the proposal that a commission of Privy Councillors should investigate the dispute between Bunyoro and Buganda over the issue of the "lost counties". He said: "We have been treated unjustly. Bunyoro has been betrayed. The Uganda agreement should not be settled without this being cleared up. I foresee trouble between the people of the lost counties and the Buganda chiefs." (*Daily Telegraph*, October 11.)

The Kabaka of Buganda was welcomed home on October 21 by thousands of his subjects at the airport and along the road to Mengo. In Bulange, the Resident Buganda, Mr. R. E. Stone, made a speech of welcome. "The very great welcome which has been given to you today, Your Highness, on your return to your Kingdom from England, has, I feel sure, not only been a tribute to you personally as Kabaka of Buganda, but has also been a demonstration to applaud you for the part which you have taken during the recent negotiations in London concerning the future of Buganda; and not only the future of Buganda but of the whole of Uganda, because I think that all who attended the London Conference and all who live in Uganda, have come to understand more clearly than ever before that Uganda without Buganda, or Buganda without Uganda, would resemble a river in the dry season where the water does not flow but lies in stagnant pools."

Returning on October 23, Mr. Benedicto Kiwanuka, the Chief Minister, referred to the financial talks held at the Colonial Office on October 11. He said they went well. "We got a final decision on what we had agreed in June." Under this decision, Her Majesty's Government undertook to provide an Exchequer loan of £2.75 million to enable Uganda to finance a development programme for the Uganda financial year 1961-2 on the scale of the programme discussed with the International Bank General Survey Mission to Uganda.

Asked for his views on the London Conference, the Chief Minister said: "We brought Independence, and that is the great thing which overshadows everything." He went on: "The question of indirect elections by the Lukiko should not worry people unnecessarily because it is not yet finally decided. By that I mean that it will be up to members of the Lukiko

who would be elected themselves to decide that point. That was mainly the reason I agreed to go back to the conference and finish the talks. I consider that the granting of Independence to Uganda is in itself a great thing and nothing should come in its way." (*Uganda News*, October 24.)

A correspondent in the *Kenya Weekly News* (October 20) stated that the new constitutional agreement provided no ultimate solution to any of the country's basic problems. It did however, provide a framework within which these problems were soluble by discussion and political activity, instead of by coercion or violence. . . .

#### Buganda Agreement

The Buganda Lukiko decided on October 26, by seventy-seven votes to nil, with two abstentions, to accept the agreement negotiated in London with the British Government. This means that the secession resolution of December 31, 1960, has been buried and that Buganda has finally agreed to co-operate with the rest of Uganda. On the vexed question of whether the Buganda members of the National Assembly should be directly or indirectly elected, the Lukiko resolved to leave the choice to the new Lukiko due to be elected early next year. (*The Times*, October 27.)

The Governor of Uganda, Sir Frederick Crawford, paid tribute to the way in which the Kabaka had helped to bring about agreement out of an apparent impasse. The present pact was the answer to critics who had accused him of weakness and the Kabaka and his Ministers of intransigence. The Governor also announced that this was his last act of state. The agreement was signed on October 31. (*Guardian*, November 1.)

## SOUTHERN AFRICA

### High Commission Territories

#### The Future

SPEAKING in the Transvaal on September 30, Dr. Verwoerd, the South African Prime Minister, gave a warning that Basutoland and other countries being given their independence by Britain could become a danger to South Africa. A weak neighbour could become a danger if good relations were not maintained he said. Dr. Verwoerd deplored a recent statement attributed to Mr. Sandys, the British Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, that South Africa's departure from the Commonwealth had cleared the air because of her obnoxious apartheid policy. The Prime Minister said he could use nasty words to discuss British policy in Africa, but had never done so as he thought that was Britain's own affair. (*The Times*, October 2.)

Mr. Harold Macmillan, the Prime Minister, told the House of Commons on November 15 that responsibility for the High Commission Territories would be transferred from the Commonwealth Relations Office to the Colonial Office on December 1.

Mr. Macmillan said: "It is not proposed to change the present arrangement under which one man holds the posts of Ambassador in South Africa and High Commissioner for the Territories. In his capacity as Ambassador, he will be responsible to the Foreign Secretary, and, as High Commissioner, to the Colonial Secretary."

Mr. Hugh Gaitskill, Leader of the Opposition, questioned the wisdom of one man being the Ambassador to South Africa and High Commissioner for the Territories, thus having responsibility for both diplomatic relations and administration. Mr. Macmillan replied that, except for the change of name, the responsibility remained very much the same. He acknowledged, however, that whether these duties should continue permanently to be those of one man was a matter for consideration "as we proceed". (*The Times*, November 15.)

## Basutoland Riots

Public gatherings were banned in Maseru, capital of Basutoland, on November 1, and steel-helmeted police patrolled the streets after an outbreak of rioting, stone throwing and attempted arson in which a number of people were injured and some damage done to property.

The disturbances, thought to be at least partly attributable to a Basuto youth movement led by deportees from the Republic of South Africa, began outside a court after an African named Mokatini, who had been deported from the Republic, had appeared on a charge of having no permit to be in the Territory. After a fracas in court in which a policeman was stabbed, an attempt to take Mokatini into a police van sparked off violence among the crowd outside.

In the resulting riot cars were stoned, windows broken in a hospital and bank, an unsuccessful attempt made to set fire to the Roman Catholic Cathedral and some damage done by fire to the thatched roof of a building belonging to the Government. Eighteen Basuto, including four women, were arrested on charges ranging from assault to malicious injury to property. (*The Times*, November 2.)

## Development Association in Bechuanaland

An editorial in the *Guardian* (October 24) stated: "Some of those who remember the fine experiment in racial co-operation carried out by Mr. and Mrs. Clutton-Brock at St. Faith's Mission in Southern Rhodesia may be wondering what has happened to them since they had to leave the Federation. It is good to learn, from the current newsletter of the African Development Trust, that they are still in Africa, and thriving—but now in Bechuanaland, to which indeed Mr. Clutton-Brock had already begun to turn his eyes before the emergency in Southern Rhodesia.

"He is now the moving spirit in the Bamangwato Development Association, which has launched at Piliqwe—the village built by Tshekedi Khama and his followers when they retired from the tribal capital—an agricultural project which has now the support of the United Kingdom Committee for Freedom from Hunger, and a second project, a market garden at Palapye, which has received an initial grant from the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief. A trading store and a cattle ranch are projected. The Clutton-Brocks have been joined in Bechuanaland by several volunteers, one of them under the Voluntary Overseas Service Scheme.

"As for their old home at St. Faith's, which has become a Native Purchase area under the Southern Rhodesian Government, their imprint is still upon the place. The clinic for handicapped children is being carried on by an African, Mrs. Chiwandamira, trained by Mrs. Clutton-Brock, and a dozen of the former tenants of the mission farm have been allotted farms in the purchase area."

## Swaziland Constitutional Committee<sup>1</sup>

Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, constitutional adviser for Swaziland, started his talks on September 21, in Mbabane, with African and European leaders on the drafting of the constitution. The discussions were expected to last several weeks.

An article in *The Economist* (October 28) recalled that the constitutional committee was set up in November, 1960, and that its report would probably appear at the end of the year, or perhaps the beginning of next. It continued: "Most of the 250,000 Swazilanders swear allegiance to the traditional tribal body; indeed, in theory, the heads of all their families belong to it. In practice they are ruled by Sobhuza II, a bearded patriarch of 72 who has run Swaziland's tribal kingdom for forty years and who traces his Dhlamini dynasty back for four centuries. He has been a wise king: he has bought many thousands of acres of his country's land and held it, fallow, in the name of the nation. The result is that only about 43 per cent of Swaziland is held privately by Europeans; even so there is a serious land tenure problem.

"Paramount Chief Sobhuza's idea of constitutional advance is to raise the status of the present European advisory council (representing the Territory's 10,000 Europeans), so that it might sit as an equal alongside the Ngwenyama in Libandhla (Paramount Chief-in-Council). He insisted that while the Europeans might have their democracy the Africans must

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IX, 1 and 2.

retain their ancient way. The effect of this would be to divide power between the African tribal authority in the Black part of Swaziland and the European tribal authority in the White part. Some of the overall power at present exercised by the Resident Commissioner, Mr. B. A. Marwick, would pass to this new council. With one leap Europeans would jump to a position of considerable political power.

"This form of Government however would be a microcosm of Dr. Verwoerd's system of 'separate development'. Its major fault is that it fails to take account of the (comparatively small) number of educated, modern-minded Swazis; they have formed the S.P.P. to fight for their case.

"Mr. Nquku (president) and two other S.P.P. members sat on the constitutional committee until May. They were there as members of the Swazi nation, not as party representatives. When they made suggestions outside the framework of the Chief's wishes, they were suspended. Cannily, they retained Professor D. V. Cowen, of Cape Town University, to advise them what to do next. (Professor Cowen did the same thing successfully, for the Basuto four years ago.) His Swazi report appeared in Cape Town a month ago and was made on behalf of the S.P.P. and the mixed blood Coloured people of Swaziland. It is a comprehensive and well-argued document.

"Professor Cowen points out that the Europeans in Swaziland must choose between Swaziland nationality, or South African. Many of them at present have a foot—and a vote—in both camps. In this, the professor is with Dr. Verwoerd who has said that the High Commission Territories could no longer be considered as future South African 'Bantustans' but must instead be looked on as foreign countries.

"But if the C.R.O. chooses the path of easy virtue and acquiescence in all of Sobhuza II's constitutional and racial-minded plans, a Bantustan is what Swaziland would be. Professor Cowen proposes, as an alternative, that Sobhuza be elevated from a tribal chief to a constitutional monarch. The king would, provisionally, nominate about a fifth of the members of the new legislative council. Another fifth would be officials and British Government nominees; the rest would be elected on a single common roll for all races, based on adult franchise; or on one such roll plus an upper roll. Mr. Nquku and his party are putting forward their adviser's plan as a compromise; as one that will meet the demands of traditional society, make room for White Swazilanders, and allow for speedy development to a more orthodox democracy. The S.P.P. has also suggested alternatives, as compromises, to this plan. It asks too for a Bill of Rights to use against the Territory's racially-discriminating laws. The job of the C.R.O. must be to lead its local administration, Swaziland's Europeans, and the tribal hierarchy along this path. The mainly South African minded Europeans of Swaziland are as strongly against this idea as is Sobhuza II. South Africa's economy embraces Swaziland. The two monetary systems are inextricably bound up. Now, a railway 140 miles long is to be built at the cost of £9 million, some of which will come from the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa.

"This would give Swaziland a State-owned railway, several new industries and a chance of real viability. A British Government economic survey mission reported eighteen months ago that if its recommendations (costing £2,667,260) are adopted, viability will be a near certainty. The British Government has not been able to find quite as much as that; £1 million has been spent so far.

"These economic plans will make Swaziland something more for some South Africans; a place to make money in. But it depends on the political plans—and on a courage that the C.R.O. has not so far demonstrated—whether or not the Territories will be the genuine shop-window of the British way as it should be, and that the C.R.O. tells itself it is intended to be."

A special correspondent of *The Times* (November 2) stated that the consultations in Swaziland were running into difficulties.

The correspondent referred to the visit to London of Mr. J. J. Nquku, the president of the Progressive Party, who was complaining that his party's views had not been sought and asking what value could be placed on any constitutional settlement reached in such circumstances. He had not, however, sought any interview at the Commonwealth Relations Office.

Mr. Nkuku wrote to *The Times* (November 9) stating that the need to represent the modern Swazi and his opinions in any constitutional settlement could not be exaggerated. It was impossible for the modern Swazi, or indeed for any member of the nation who hoped for a better future, to accept a reactionary and undemocratic settlement from these consultations. . . . Among our 4,000 members (with daily additions to that number) are men in positions of traditional authority, Europeans, women, and in fact a complete cross section of the nation and not only the younger educated people you mention. Intimidation and fear of social ostracism keep many of our sympathizers from becoming members. From a scattered population it was heartening for us to find 6,000 enthusiastic people called at short notice to our recent rally.

"Your correspondent said that I have not sought to see the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations while in London. I felt it would be constitutionally wrong to do so while the consultations were going on in Swaziland and while there was still a chance that my party would be given an opportunity to have a personal and direct interview with Sir Charles Arden-Clarke and have its representation on the Constitutional Committee restored."

The Executive Committee of the S.P.P. said, on November 8, that it was essential that a conference in London be convened by the Secretary of State in order to settle the serious differences of opinion about the constitution which have arisen in Swaziland. "It is notorious in Swaziland," they wrote, "that the Constitutional Committee is in difficulties.

"There is a dispute over three different schemes. The Swazi traditionalist members favour a 'race federation', which means an association in government between the traditionalists (who would nominate a quota of members in a tribal way) and the Whites (who would vote for their members on a separate roll). This scheme would make no provision at all for any democratic voting on a common roll for Whites and Non-Whites. It starts off on the wrong foot by perpetuating racial thinking.

"There was a near agreement on a second scheme whose declared objectives were the eventual achievement of a non-racial state, and the abolition of racial discrimination including a Bill of Rights. In fact a leading White member of the Constitutional Committee, Mr. C. F. Todd, make it known last week that agreement had been reached on this plan. This plan, would, like the previous one, include a quota of Swazi traditionalists, an equal number of Whites elected on a separate roll and, in addition, a token concession would be made to the idea of a common roll which would be confined to a few Swazi and a few Whites. In our opinion these specific arrangements defeat the professed object of establishing a non-racial democracy. This second scheme has also run into difficulties in the Committee; and in any event it is opposed to the wishes of the Coloureds who have to choose to be either Whites or Swazis. The Civil Servants would also be left out in the cold and would be voteless members of the Legislative Council.

"A third plan—which has come to be known as the Government plan—is more generous to the idea of a common roll and less favourable to the White group. In its essentials, however, it is similar to the second plan and like it, in our view, would fail to achieve a non-racial state, and would leave the Coloureds in the cold. This plan, too, has run into difficulties on the Committee.

"We should like to make it known that all these three schemes differ from the S.P.P.'s proposals. Under our proposals a common roll and democratic elections would be the basis of the new constitution but fair concessions would be made to the traditionalists and the minority groups. Moreover we insist on the inclusion of a Bill of Rights, the abolition of race discrimination, and the protection of the Ngenyama's position as Head of State.

"Even if the Constitutional Committee achieves some sort of agreement after the very long delay which has occurred (it has been working for twelve months) the S.P.P. is not represented on the Committee, and its views—together with those of the Committee—should in fairness be presented by the Party's Constitutional Adviser, and its leading officials, to the Secretary of State, whose responsibility it is to make the final decision. . . ."

# South Africa, Republic of

## Chief Lutuli

CHIEF ALBERT LUTULI has been awarded the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize. The Prize is awarded to the man "who has done the most or best to further brotherhood amongst the peoples, to abolish or cut down standing armies, and to create or further the work for peace congresses". Chief Lutuli is the first African to receive the Prize. Chief Lutuli has been invited by the Nobel Institute to go to Oslo, Norway, to receive the Prize and deliver an address.

Tribute has been paid to the Chief by leading South Africans, and the United States delegate in the U.N. Political Committee, Mr. Plimpton, said of him: "We rejoice in the bravery of the people of South Africa who fight on day by day for racial justice and in the fact that a Zulu chief has been awarded the Nobel Prize for his peaceful fight against apartheid. All of us should profit from his wisdom and courage." (*Cape Times*, October 25.)

Mr. Alan Paton, famous writer and national president of the Liberal Party, declared: "Most of the people I talk to get two kinds of enjoyment from the news of the award of the Nobel Prize to Chief Lutuli. The first is gladness that the Chief has been recognized by the world for the noble man that he is. The second is delight that the Government is in such a predicament.

"The Chief is a man with a big soul. He lost his chieftainship; he was tried for treason, he was banned; he was put in prison for the emergency, yet he remained unembittered. His A.N.C. was banned but still is strong in spirit. That is largely due to the Chief. He is the only man in South Africa who could lead both the left and the right, both the moderns and the traditionalists, both Africans and Non-Africans. All of us join in congratulating him.

"The Government tried to isolate Lutuli, and now he is known to the whole world. That must infuriate them. It must infuriate them that a man whom they branded as an agitator, a trouble-maker, an extremist, should get a world prize for peace. I suppose that from a high ethical point of view one should not be delighted over the Government's embarrassment, get one is. If they let Lutuli go to receive the Prize, he will speak. If they don't let him go he will send the speech. Whichever way it goes, that speech is going to go round the world." (*Contact*, November 2.)

*Die Burger* (October 24) commented: "We regard it (the award to Chief Lutuli) as an exceptionally immature, ill-considered and deliberately un-Western decision of the Norwegian prizegivers." But on October 26 the same paper, following the Nationalist daily *Die Vaderland*, called on the Government to allow Chief Lutuli to go to Oslo to receive the Prize.

It was later announced that a limited passport would be issued to Chief Lutuli to enable him to visit Oslo.

## Election Results

Dr. Verwoerd's Nationalist Party has been returned to office with its biggest majority to date in the House of Assembly. It now holds 105 out of the 160 seats, very nearly a two-thirds majority.

The final state of the Parties was: Nationalists 105; United Party 49; Progressive 1; and National Union 1; with the four Coloureds' representatives this makes up the 160 seats in the House.

The voting showed a swing of about 3½ per cent, and a total gain of three seats to the Nationalists. A surprising feature of the election was the ground gained by the Progressive Party, although only one seat was secured. This was by Mrs. Helen Suzman, sitting member for Houghton. The Party gained strong support in most of the Rand constituencies it contested.

Of the 1,029,696 potential voters in 86 contested seats, 800,590—or 77.75 per cent—went to the polls. Of these 370,431 voted for the Nationalist Party, 302,875 for the United Party, 35,903 for the United Party's election ally, the National Union Party (N.U.P.), 69,042 for the Progressive Party, 6,229 for the Conservative Workers' Party, 2,461 for the Liberal

Party (Lib) and 10,704 for Independents. The Progressives gained 25,437 votes (32.86 per cent) in Natal, 23,722 in the Transvaal and 19,883 in the Cape.

The political columnist of *Die Volksblad*, official organ of the Nationalists in the Free State, considered the rise of the Progressives was significant. "I did not expect them to do so well," he wrote. "That, with the exception of the Cape, they could generally give the United Party such a fright I would never have believed." (*Southern Africa*, October 27.)

In a nation-wide broadcast following the general election the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, said the result of the election belied all suggestions of internal weakness or dissension.

"The National Union has proved to be the weakest straw of all. Unfortunately for himself and his party the Leader of the Opposition was caught napping. The much-praised and publicized unknown candidates of the National Union polled less than the United Party votes and certainly brought no Nationalist support."

He spoke of a "new star" in the guise of the Progressive Party. "But is this really a star, or is it a meteor? I would not wish to spoil the pleasure of its members in their minor successes, but to me the figures in which they exult tell the story of personal popularity of a lively group of middle-aged idealists and of another Natalian stand." (*S.A. Star*, October 21.)

## New Cabinet Appointments

The news of the appointment of Mr. A. E. Trollip and Mr. Frank Waring to the Cabinet was widely criticized in Opposition circles in South Africa. Most commentators said the appointments would give a false picture of co-operation between the English-speaking and Afrikaans groups.

Mr. A. E. Trollip, who joins the Cabinet as Minister of Immigration and Labour, has expressed the view that the time has come for the English-speaker to play his part in the government of his country, to feel that he is an integral part of the South African nation and not just a member of a minority group. . . . "With Communism conditioning world thinking, as it does, I have come to the conclusion that we Europeans of both language groups who think similarly on the broad policies to be followed, should stand together."

On the question of accepting an appointment in the Government, Mr. Trollip said: "I realized I could only do this if I honestly thought that the Government's policy of separate development was the best for our circumstances and capable of fulfilment and on this I had no doubt." (*Southern Africa*, November 10.)

Mr. Frank Waring has been appointed to the new Ministry of Information. The first reaction of newspapers to the creation of the new Ministry was strongly critical. The Johannesburg *Sunday Times*, in a leading article, said that the creation of a Ministry of Information was usually done in time of war or in a dictatorship. "When it pops up in peace time in a democracy, then the probabilities are that the Government's policies, lacking intrinsic merit, need a good deal of bolstering. And that is, of course, exactly what has happened." (*Southern Africa*, November 17.)

## Defence Costs and Policy

The Government's plans for modernizing and expanding the defence forces, and for the compulsory military training of up to about 15,000 Active Citizen Force men every year, will cost the country this financial year R71,500,000. This is nearly R28 million more than last year. Armament, armament stores and ammunition are to cost R4,280,000 (last year the amount was R915,000). (*S.A. Star*, October 21.)

Speaking at the Free State Congress of the Nationalist Party on September 14 Mr. J. J. Fouché, Minister of Defence, said: "The allegations in Russian newspapers that South Africa is developing its Defence Force in order to shoot down the Blacks is a lie out of Hell. . . . We are developing our Defence Force for the defence of our land from outside attacks." (*Die Burger*, September 15.)

The French Hotchkiss-Brandt Engineering Company is to supply the South African Army with equipment to the value of 16 million francs (about £1,145,000). (*The Times*, September 22.)

A military mission from South Africa was invited to attend the Mozambique Army Command "Eagle Exercise". Several units totalling 2,600 men, under the command of Brigadier Campos Andrada, deputy commander of the Fourth Military Region, took part. (*S.A. Star*, October 14.)

## At the United Nations

The U.N. General Assembly's vote of censure on October 12 against South Africa was given the fullest prominence in the South African Press. *Die Transvaler* (October 13) reported that Dr. Verwoerd had sent the Foreign Minister, Mr. Louw, a telegram assuring him of full support. In an interview with the *S.A. Sunday Times* (October 15) Mr. Louw said that South Africa would not walk out of the U.N.

Dr. Verwoerd said that South Africa would not leave the U.N. but would cling to that world forum with all the tenacity of a small State which insisted on its right of free speech. What had happened in U.N. was shocking evidence of the political immaturity of a large number of States which had recently been admitted. He said that South Africa and the Afrikaans-speaking population, in particular, was deeply shocked by the attitude adopted by the Netherlands Government but he did not believe that this reflected the general opinion of the people in the Netherlands. The only ally of the Netherlands in its attitude was the Government of Israel. (*Dagbreek*, October 15.)

In the course of his speech to the General Assembly, Mr. Eric Louw said: "Why pick on South Africa? Colour and racial discrimination was practised in certain Western and Eastern countries. The reply to this argument was generally: 'Ah, but in those countries discrimination is not sanctioned by law, as in the case of South Africa.'"

Mr. Louw said that reply offers little comfort to the Non-Whites in those countries, who are the victims of racial discrimination. "Are there perhaps political and particularly economic considerations which induce the leaders of the African States to close their eyes to the actual practice of colour discrimination as well as religious caste and other forms of discrimination in certain countries while threatening sanctions against South Africa?"

South Africa was still willing to give aid and guidance to the other African States, he said.

It was a mistake to think that the parliamentary system of government could be grafted on to traditional customs and practices of the African peoples—or transplanted to the alien soil of age-old African tradition. "It simply does not work that way. It is a foreign plant that will not thrive on African soil."

Mr. Louw said Ghana was "flirting with Moscow and Peking". Guinea, soon after being given its independence, promptly became a disciple of Moscow. Mr. Louw added: "South Africa's policy is not, as is sometimes alleged, one of 'back to the tribe' or 'back to the bush'. The object is to start with a system of government which is based on Bantu custom and tradition, but which will be further developed by the progressive introduction of fully representative government."

"Inside South Africa there are subversive Bantu organizations aided and abetted by overseas ultra-liberalistic organizations. They are further actively encouraged by the leaders of certain African States. A feature of this latter type of encouragement is that it is an important element in the keen competition among certain leaders to assume the leadership of the African States. In bidding for that honour, the idea is that the one that hits South Africa the hardest, is likely to gain the favour of the smaller States." (*S.A. Star*, October 14.)

The *New York Times* (October 14) commented: "It is easy to select parts of Mr. Louw's speech that contain not even the smallest percentage of truth. We may pick out just one, in which he said that apartheid is a policy which is equally in the interests of the White and the Bantu population. It is nothing of the sort. It is, as Mr. Louw well knows, an instrument of White domination."

"Nevertheless, if the General Assembly is to be kept open as a forum for all opinions and all authorized speakers it is destructive and wrong to take the kind of steps that the Assembly has taken. The Assembly has no right to lay an embargo on words. The Foreign Minister of South Africa is, we think, completely wrong in his main argument and completely right

in his insistence on being permitted to present the argument before the General Assembly."

The *Sunday Times*, London (October 15), said: "It is difficult enough these days for men of goodwill to keep alive their faith in the U.N. as a forum of international contact. The episode in New York last week, when the General Assembly—with Britain and the United States feebly abstaining—voted to censure the speech made to it by the South African Foreign Minister, strains goodwill almost to breaking point. To say this is in no sense to approve of the futile and detestable racial policies of Mr. Louw and his Government; but his speech, with its highly unfavourable comments upon the conditions in other African States, fell well within the rules of any body honouring the principle of free speech."

On November 13, the 103-member Special Political Committee passed by 47 votes to 32 with 22 abstentions a predominantly African-drafted resolution asking the Security Council to consider expelling South Africa from the U.N. The committee also urged the General Assembly to invoke diplomatic and economic sanctions against South Africa because of her racial policies. This was carried by 48 to 30 with 23 abstentions. But neither resolution obtained the two-thirds majority needed for approval by the General Assembly.

Mr. Louw declared in the debate that the U.N. could not afford to expel his country as demanded by African States. The position of the world organization had already deteriorated and once it started expelling members, "it will be the beginning of the end of the U.N." The campaign against South Africa had been instigated by new African States carried away by a crusading zeal to see "Africa for the Africans", and demanding that the White population in his country abdicate control to the Non-Whites. "My answer to that challenging statement is that the White man is determined to stay in the Republic of South Africa," Mr. Louw declared. (*Southern Africa*, November 17.)

Stanley Uys, writing in the *Observer* (November 19), said: "White South Africans took the threatening events at U.N. this week in their stride. In fact they have never regarded expulsion or sanctions as a serious proposition. Long ago the pro-Government Press told them with cynical assurance that Britain and America would look after South Africa because it was in their financial interest to do so. Now they have read reports describing the strenuous behind-the-scenes efforts made by Britain and America to save South Africa from expulsion and sanctions and they feel their optimism was justified. . . . Britain's behaviour at U.N. has not endeared itself to Non-White political leaders here. In particular there has been much criticism of the statement by Mr. Colin Crowe, British delegate to the U.N. Political Committee: 'Whom would the sanctions harm if they were adopted by all the nations in this room? Not the people who believe in apartheid. They are entrenched in their isolation and self-sufficiency.'"

"Mr. Duma Nokwe, former secretary-general of the banned African National Congress, said that if Mr. Crowe's views were accepted by the members of U.N. this would be the surest way of reducing the chances of a peaceful solution of the problems of South Africa and of creating the atmosphere for bloodshed and chaos."

## National Liberation Committee

A sabotage organization calling itself the National Liberation Committee is operating in South Africa according to reports from London. South African political exiles in Britain claimed to have scored their first success by wrecking pylons which caused a black-out in northern Johannesburg on October 8.

The Commonwealth correspondent on the *Guardian* reported that the exiles wanted to remain anonymous for the time being. The N.L.C. had established branches in the main cities of South Africa and has appointed a London agent. He has been supplied with an initial budget of £5,000 (R10,000) and orders to buy dynamite and other supplies and to smuggle them into the country by any means available.

One London sympathizer said the N.L.C. saboteurs had "grandiose and dramatic plans". He confirmed there was a political purpose behind the movement and that it was predominantly White-led. Inquiries in

Johannesburg have confirmed the existence of the committee and that it has branches. Reports of its existence have been circulating for several weeks. It is believed that sabotage operations were scheduled to begin in June next year, after selected saboteurs had returned from being trained abroad. (*S.A. Star*, October 14.)

## Arrests and Trials

The president of the South African Coloured People's Congress, Mr. Rissik Desai, was acquitted on two charges of incitement. Similar charges against another leading member of the Congress, a Cape Town City Councillor, Mr. George Peake, were withdrawn. Both charges were in connexion with the stay-at-home in May.<sup>1</sup> (*Guardian*, September 22.)

Mr. Duma Nokwe, former secretary-general of the banned African National Congress, former members of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress, members of the Liberal Party and the Progressive Party, ministers of religion, a prominent Johannesburg businessman and the former field officer of the South African Institute of Race Relations, were among twelve men arrested in Johannesburg on September 30. They were accused of publishing five documents calling for an all-in African conference to demand a national convention "wherein the fundamental rights of the people will be considered". These acts, according to the indictment, were calculated: "To unite the African people in a powerful and effective instrument to secure their own complete liberation from all forms of discrimination and national oppression; to strive for the attainment of universal adult suffrage and the creation of a United Democratic South Africa on the principles outlined in the freedom charter (a document adopted by the whole congress movement in 1955 calling for equal rights, etc.). And to support the cause of national liberation and the right to independence of nations in Africa and the rest of the world." (*Observer*, October 10.)

They were sentenced to one year's imprisonment after being found guilty under the Suppression of Communism Act and the Unlawful Organizations Act. All twelve, who had pleaded Not Guilty, were granted bail of £50, pending appeal. (*The Times*, October 19.)

Mr. Walter Sisulu, former secretary-general of banned African National Congress, was arrested in Johannesburg. Police said the arrest concerned Pass laws. Documents were taken from Mr. Michael Harmel, journalist, who was with Mr. Sisulu. (*Daily Telegraph*, October 18.)

Mr. Tom Walters, a Cape Town attorney, was acquitted on a charge of incitement to commit malicious injury to property. He was also acquitted on an alternative charge of incitement to damage or interfere with electrical equipment. The magistrate said it was clear from a document "Operation Order", compiled by Walters, that the intention was to disorganize and make a farce of Republic celebrations by suggesting a number of methods. But, the magistrate said, "most of these are innocuous in the eyes of the criminal law". (*The Times*, October 24.)

Father Trevor Bush, who was summoned to appear in court failed to attend, and a warrant was issued for his arrest. Father Bush was reported to have fled from South Africa. The charge was that he incited people to stay at home last May, and also that he had displayed on a notice board at Kimberley the copy of the freedom charter. (*The Times*, November 1.)

## Police Swoops

In a police swoop on November 3, 1,242 Whites and Non-Whites were arrested. General J. du Plooy, Commissioner of Police, said that among those arrested were people wanted in connexion with inquiries into murder, rape, assault, theft and illegal possession of firearms and drugs.

On November 5, the numbers arrested rose to 2,500. General du Plooy said there had been similar raids in the past. He went on: "These raids are carried out as a result of an increase in armed robberies on Witwatersrand, in northern Transvaal, and Port Natal. Whenever I find that there has been an increase in crime at any centre I organize these crime raids. They have had good results. They also act as a deterrent to would-be criminals."

A number were fined up to £45 with the alternative of ninety days' imprisonment, after conviction of infringing the laws on liquor, drunkenness, and of the possession of illegal weapons and stolen goods. All those

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST, IX, 1.

arrested had their fingerprints taken and were now being screened, police said. (*The Times*, November 7.)

Mr. David Pratt, who was declared unfit to stand trial on the charge of the attempted murder of Dr. Verwoerd, was found dead in the Bloemfontein mental hospital where he was detained. A letter found on Mr. Pratt's body said: "Under the circumstances this is the best solution for my problem for everyone." (*The Times*, October 3.)

## Bantu Authorities and Elections

The political correspondent of the *S.A. Star* (November 11) wrote: "There were some indications this week that the South African Government are beginning to realize that constitutional development in the Republic's Bantu 'homelands' has to try to keep pace with what is being done in the near-by British Protectorates.

"A territorial authority was formed for the Ciskei and established at King William's Town. The territorial authority is the pinnacle of the Bantu Authorities pyramid. It has local legislative, executive and financial powers and is a sort of Government-nominated provincial council, if you can imagine such a thing. . . .

"In opening the new Ciskeian territorial authority the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. de Wet Nel, admitted that the Bantu Authorities system was still only embryonic and said it would have to be adapted as time went on. If you want to make changes you are welcome to discuss them with me. Even if you want to introduce a system of voting in your own areas you are welcome to discuss this with me. . . ."

It is interesting to recall, however, that Mr. Nel made the selfsame offer to the Natives in a newspaper interview two and a half years ago. "Why have they never taken him up on it?"

"I do not know. But I suspect that there are two reasons. The thoughts of chiefs and councillors rather naturally run rather more on 'self-government' than on a franchise that might unseat them. Only yesterday Chief Tutor Nadamisie of West Pondoland was demanding 'self-government by 1963'.

"Secondly the African intelligentsia who are seriously interested in the franchise are probably looking for a share in power at the centre—in Parliament at Cape Town—and not for a say in the election of local councils. . . . But the franchise is not a negligible weapon in any form, however circumscribed it may seem. Fifteen years ago the Indians of Natal and Transvaal refused a communal franchise which would have given them three M.P.s in the Assembly and two senators because they wanted to vote on the common roll with the Whites.

"If they had accepted the communal franchise and sent their M.P.s and senators to Parliament they could have made Dr. Malan's first ministry unworkable and quite probably forced Dr. Malan to resign. Malan had at that time a maximum of five in the Assembly, and, by a fluke, parity in the Senate."

## Police Kidnapping in Basutoland

Anderson Ganyile, a Pondoland resistance leader, who has been living in exile in the British colony of Basutoland, says in a letter smuggled from prison that South African police kidnapped him and two other Africans on August 26 and took them over the border to a South African prison. The South African police admit the Pondo leader is in custody but they maintain, it is said, that they arrested him on South African territory.

The Basutoland police sent an officer to investigate the alleged kidnapping but "no corroborative evidence" has been found. The officer took possession of two blood-stained blankets found in the Pondo leader's hut. The hut was open and deserted and the interior was "a shambles". (*Observer*, September 24.)

Mr. Braine, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, told a delegation that investigations were proceeding. At present the evidence available to the Government was insufficient to establish that Basutoland territory had been violated, but he assured the delegation that urgent inquiries were being made. If the allegations were substantiated the Government would take a serious view of the matter. (*The Times*, September 30.)

Judgement has been reserved in the Supreme Court, Grahamstown, on the urgent application to produce Mr. Ganyile. The Court had been asked to issue an order compelling the Minister of Justice and police in the Transkei to produce Mr. Ganyile. (*S.A. Evening Post*, October 14.)

Although according to the British High Commissioner's office a blood-stained blanket was sent over three weeks ago for analysis by the S.A. Institute of Medical Research, no results have yet been made public. Nor have any other moves been made to have Mr. Ganyile's own statement taken. (*Contact*, November 2.)

## Sport

The Advisory Committee of the British Empire and Commonwealth Games Federation decided in London on October 30 that South Africa will not be allowed to take part in the Empire Games at Perth, Western Australia, next year. Membership of the Federation is open to associations from "the constituent parts of the British Commonwealth and Empire". It seems that South Africa's decision to leave the Commonwealth has made it possible for the Advisory Committee to take action against the new Republic on purely constitutional grounds. The question of apartheid in sport has been left in the background.

The South African Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association had asked that its team should be permitted to compete at Perth, and that South Africa's participation in future Empire Games should be decided at the meeting of the general assembly of the Federation next year. (*Guardian*, October 31.)

The International Football Federation, meeting in London on September 27, suspended the South African Football Association for twelve months. Expulsion is a matter for the full F.I.F.A. congress next year in Chile. Association football is the country's biggest sport from a spectator point of view. (*The Times*, September 28.)

The Dutch baseball league has declined an invitation to send a team to tour South Africa next year "in view of South Africa's racial policy". (*The Times*, October 30.)

# South West Africa

## U.N. Committee Report

THE recommendations of the South West Africa Committee are summarized in the Report of the Committee on South West Africa for 1961<sup>1</sup> as follows:

The Committee, after a careful appraisal of the extremely delicate and explosive situation in the Territory of South West Africa, came to the conclusion that, in view of the unfitness of the South African Government further to administer the Territory, the best interest of all concerned and of international peace and security demand as a matter of great urgency that the General Assembly should undertake a study of the ways and means by which to terminate South African administration over the Mandated Territory of South West Africa and to have that administration assumed directly or indirectly by the U.N. so as to ensure the institution of the rule of law and such democratic processes, reforms and programme of assistance as will enable the Mandated Territory to assume the full responsibilities of sovereignty and independence within the shortest possible time. Such a study should contain all consequences of the termination of the South African administration, including all measures necessary to put into effect in the Territory the transfer of Government power to the indigenous people of the Territory who constitute a great majority of the population.

The Committee is convinced that, short of compulsive measures within the purview of the Charter, the problem of South West Africa cannot be solved in present circumstances in a manner that will protect the lives of the indigenous inhabitants of the Territory and ensure the maintenance of international peace and security in Africa.

The Committee, in accordance with its findings and conclusions, makes the following recommendations:

<sup>1</sup>A/4926, October 26.

Urgent consideration by the Security Council and all other organs, sub-organs or Member States of the U.N. of all such measures or courses of action as may be required to ensure the effective implementation of the recommendations made in this report or of any other decisions made by the U.N. on the question of South West Africa.

The immediate institution of a U.N. presence in South West Africa.

Removal of the present Administration from the Territory of South West Africa, with effective and simultaneous transfer of power to the U.N. or to the indigenous inhabitants of the Territory.

U.N. assistance to the indigenous inhabitants, either through the Committee on South West Africa or through a U.N. Special Committee of Assistance to South West Africa.

Training and organization of an indigenous police force by the U.N., withdrawal of firearms from all Europeans and prohibition of the possession of arms by all civilians, withdrawal of South African military forces, abolition of all discriminatory laws and regulations, and cessation of all organized immigration of Europeans, especially South Africans, to the Mandated Territory.

Attainment of independence by South West Africa through a Constitutional Convention, a popular referendum on the constitution adopted by the Convention, the election of representatives of the people on the basis of universal adult suffrage, the establishment of an independence Government—all with the assistance of the Committee on South West Africa or the suggested U.N. Special Committee on Assistance to South West Africa.

The steps which in the Committee's view would enable the indigenous inhabitants of South West Africa to achieve a wide measure of internal self-government designed to lead them to complete independence as soon as possible are:

(i) Immediate organization of a special, intensive type of fellowship programme to train the largest possible number of indigenous inhabitants of South West Africa in the functions and techniques of administration, economics, law, hygiene (sanitation), etc., increasing thereby the available number of trained personnel of indigenous background.

(ii) The planning by the Committee with the participation of accredited representatives from the political parties and popular organizations of South West Africa and with the assistance of individuals, or qualified personnel from the U.N. and other international organizations, of preliminary drafts, *inter alia*, for the following: A Constitutional Convention; a popular referendum; educational system; economic organization; agrarian organization and reform, and technical and economic assistance by the U.N. and its specialized agencies.

(iii) The implementation of the plans set forth above under the supervision of the U.N.

## WEST AFRICA Angola

### U.P.A. Policy

A MEMORANDUM presented to the Belgrade conference by the *Unions Populaires Angolaises* described the armed struggle in Angola. "The Angolan revolution is the final challenge to the colonial system in every form. In this way the revolution is speeding up the work of liberation which is in progress throughout Africa and is contributing to the establishment of the African personality and conscience.

"The revolution has made the imperialists, who by nature are always the last to understand, appreciate the depth and strength of African nationalist aspirations. It has at last overthrown the traditional forces of imperialism which in order to defend themselves, have been forced to set out on the path which inevitably leads to decolonization. . . .

"In human terms, 4½ million Angolans live under the domination of 200,000 Portuguese whose main characteristics are arrogance and racialism. But for several decades now Angolan patriots have tried to engage in discussions with the Portuguese authorities on the question of modifying the colonial status and accepting the principle of self-determination. At

every tentative approach Portuguese reaction has been immediate and brutal; arrests, deportations and many executions.

"In 1954 U.P.A. was founded and adopted methods of discussion and co-operation; but gradually, as great changes took place in Africa and the world, and with the unanimous support of the people of Angola for the Party programme, it was drawn into a merciless struggle with the Portuguese régime. . . .

"For five months the result of this decision has been seen; more than 50,000 deaths, tens of thousands wounded, of whom many have gone into the Congo while others are in hiding in the jungle, dying and being preyed on by wild animals. Some hundreds of square kilometres of plantations have been devastated by Portuguese violence. . . .

"This is why, aware of our historic role, the U.P.A. decided to direct the campaign of national resistance. Although much blood has flowed since March 15, 1961, and over the centuries many hundreds of thousands of our people have been the victims of Portuguese rule we have not given up the belief that negotiations could have avoided further tragedies. Even now, despite repeated statements by Portuguese that they want to exterminate our people, we would still take part in negotiations with the Government of Portugal in an effort to find a basis for national independence and the recognition of our peoples' right. . . .

"The most important points in our programme are: decolonization; and the affirmation of nationalism.

"In the name of the people of Angola, U.P.A. makes an urgent and pressing appeal to the conference that they should support the Angolan people in their struggle without reservation." (*La Voix de la Nation Anglaise*, September 22.)

### Aliazo Policy

Patrick Keatly writing in the *Guardian* (September 20) said: "With a minimum of publicity the leader of one of the three African nationalist movements in Angola has been visiting London. He is Mr. Andre Massaki, president-general of the Zombo People's Alliance (Aliazo), which claims the support of about two-thirds of the 1 million Angolans living in the northern province between Uige and the Congo border.

"His purpose here, which he has been explaining to trade unionists and Members of Parliament in private talks, has been to seek out what means there are, if any, of persuading the Government to change its policy of abstaining when debates on Angola are put to the vote at the U.N. For the same reason he and his aides are going to Paris and Brussels, because of the damaging effects, as they see it, of continuing French and Belgian abstentions at U.N. . . .

"The phrase 'moyens pacifiques' recurs with great frequency in his conversations and Aliazo has been deeply committed to this principle since its founding just over a year ago. . . . The Aliazo leaders say that they maintain fraternal relations with U.P.A. and the M.P.L.A.

"There is no rivalry between us, nor is there any truth in the Portuguese allegation that we are being led by the nose by Communists. The original troubles broke out in the U.P.A. areas, which are west and south of the part where Aliazo has its main support. Apparently the Portuguese military authorities decided to take 'preventive' measures in the country as a whole. In our region, where there had been no violence whatsoever, the Portuguese came and took all the educated people, especially the chiefs. Later they came back to some of our villages with trucks and dumped out the clothing of the men who had been taken.

"Our people assume they were killed—we have never heard from them again—and it was then that some Aliazo supporters began taking rifles and machetes and resisting the Portuguese military power. They had also sought to drive away the militia by setting ambushes and booby traps at bridges and other weak points in the communications network of the northern province. These measures of resistance were continuing.

"Mr. Massaki said that many months ago Aliazo began trying to make contact with the Portuguese Government to suggest negotiations. The letters were addressed to the Prime Minister, Dr. Salazar, in Lisbon. 'Up to now we have never had an answer.' The Aliazo leaders also began writing to the U.N., addressing their letters to the Secretary-General. Much to their gratification, they had replies from Mr. Hammarskjöld to every letter sent."

## Labour Conditions

After hearing evidence of Portugal's alleged contravention of the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, adopted by the I.L.O. in 1957, the International Labour Organization decided to appoint three independent jurists to investigate conditions in Angola and Mozambique.

The five British witnesses, called by Ghana, were the Rev. Max Hancock, a Baptist minister in Angola between 1925 and 1958; the Rev. Clifford Parsons, assistant foreign secretary of the British Baptist Society in Angola between 1941 and 1958; the Rev. David Grenfell, Baptist minister in Angola between 1932 and 1961; the Rev. Eric Blakeborough, a Baptist minister just back from a review of the Angolan refugee situation on the Congo side of the frontier; and Mr. Basil Davidson. The British Anti-Slavery Society introduced three African witnesses for Angola, Mr. Kambunda, Mr. D' Almeida Cumba, and Mr. Dias Martins. The Portuguese also introduced a number of witnesses. (*Guardian*, September 28.)

## Troop Movements

General Venancio Deslandes, Governor of Luanda, told the legislative council of Angola that Portuguese troops had beaten terrorism in the north of the province. Armed forces operations had ended and given way to military police activity. The rebel organization was disjointed and all the villages and administrative posts in the north had been occupied. Movement was now free within that territory, and terrorist bands would be pursued until they had capitulated or had been annihilated. (*The Times*, October 9.)

A contingent of 2,500 infantrymen left Portugal on October 22. Press reports from Luanda said that thousands of Africans in northern Angola have put themselves under the protection of the Portuguese Army. Many of them claimed that they were forced to leave their homes and work for the terrorists. Others said they joined the uprising from fear of reprisals. The same agency says that police action continues in Angola and that military patrols have been reinforced in the frontier region around Forte Republica. Local inhabitants have asked for protection against bands of "terrorists from over the Congo frontier".

Refugees began crossing the boundary again into the Congo in mid-October. The refugees have been giving news of a continuing reign of terror in Angola. Many of them have been badly wounded by booby traps. Mrs. B. Fulbrook, working with the refugees, stated that refugees reported continued burning and some bombing of their villages. (*The Times*, October 13.)

Mr. Roberto Holden, U.P.A. leader in Leopoldville, has refuted the Portuguese claim that resistance has been overcome. He said it is a lie by the colonial régime who merely wish to mislead the U.N. Mr. Holden added that in the event of there being U.N. intervention he hoped that they would not bring chaos to his country, as they had unwittingly done in the Congo. He reaffirmed his party's readiness to have talks with the Portuguese on condition that their right to self-government was guaranteed by the U.N. He confessed, however, that he was sceptical about the chances of a peaceful change, as Portugal had replied to all approaches with massacre. (*Le Monde*, October 28.)

# Dahomey

## The President and France

*Le Monde* (October 26) described the President of Dahomey, Mr. Hubert Maga, as a quiet and friendly man who practised his belief in national unity by knowing all the principal dialects of his country; but he was also skilful in building on his opponents' differences. His own experience had taught him the dangers of false advisers, and prolonged discussions. However, after having been adept in working a three-party system in the House of Assembly he has, for the past year, been leading his country towards a one-party system, and has established a presidential régime. Although a convinced parliamentarian, he recognized that the parliamentary system did not take account of the realities of present-day Dahomey.

During his official visit to Paris he emphasized the links between France and Dahomey. He said: "We send our trainees to Paris for experience and knowledge they cannot obtain at home. . . . We look to France for co-operation for the simple reason that history has woven a thousand threads linking us together—our economies, personnel, and shared culture—we do not regard one another as strangers, but as members of one great family." (*Le Monde*, October 27.)

# Ghana

## Relations with Britain and Commonwealth

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, made flying visits to Accra on October 1 and again at the beginning of November.

Colin Legum writing in the *Observer* (October 1) said: "Fears are beginning to spread that Ghana's serious internal crisis might assume wider significance involving her relations with the Commonwealth and the West. . . . Three questions are likely to be uppermost in the mind of Mr. Sandys. . . . Can Dr. Nkrumah re-establish his largely personal rule without recourse to authoritarian measures that would disturb the confidence of foreign capital, on which his ambitious development projects depend?"

"Does the new leftward trend of his Government inevitably mean a leftward swing in his foreign relations, which might make him more dependent on help from Communist countries instead of, as in the past, on Western countries?"

"Will the controversies arising from these speculations strengthen the hand of Dr. Nkrumah's extremist left-wing elements who are anxious to poison relations between Ghana and the Commonwealth? Ghana's President is known still to be an ardent champion of the Commonwealth association—so long as he remains convinced that there is no intention of Commonwealth intrusion into his internal affairs."

"It is also known that he is gravely disturbed by speculative reports widely published that British and American leaders are critical about the dismissal of Mr. Gbedemah. During his four years as Minister of Finance Mr. Gbedemah had achieved considerable standing as a level-headed and competent exponent of Ghana's cause. Foreign criticisms are all the more suspect since it is generally believed in Ghana that Mr. Gbedemah is the likeliest leader of any successful opposition that might develop to the Nkrumah Government."

At the conclusion of the talks a joint statement was issued which they hoped would help to allay misunderstandings between Ghana and Britain. . . . Dr. Nkrumah said that Ghana wished to keep the "cold war" out of Africa. Its policy had always been, and still was, based on the principle of non-alignment, neither leaning towards the East nor the West.

Mr. Sandys said that he was glad to receive Dr. Nkrumah's assurance on this point, and wanted him to know that the British Government fully understood and respected Ghana's wish to remain non-aligned in the same way as a number of other Commonwealth countries.

Dr. Nkrumah assured Mr. Sandys that he appreciated the fact that since the last war Britain had given independence to nearly 800 million people and had thereby set an example in the peaceful transfer of power that had been followed to some extent by other colonial Powers. He welcomed Britain's decision to give independence to Tanganyika before the end of the year.

The statement continued: "Mr. Sandys assured the President that it is the determined policy of the British Government to grant independence to its remaining dependent territories in Africa as soon as practicable and, in the meantime, to take all necessary steps to prepare the peoples of these territories for the responsibilities of nationhood."

Mr. Sandys stressed that it was not the British Government's practice to attach conditions to economic and technical aid that it gave, and that, therefore, accusations against Britain of "neo-colonialism" were unjustified. Dr. Nkrumah while saying that he regretted Britain's inability to fix a target, recognized the Government's sincere determination to find as quickly as possible a just and final solution to the colonial problem.

Reviewing developments in the Congo, Dr. Nkrumah and Mr. Sandys noted that, while there had been from time to time differences about the methods, the objective of both Governments was the same—"namely to support the U.N. in securing the early re-establishment of the unity and territorial integrity of the Congo, the establishment of a democratically chosen central government free from outside interference, and the peaceful solution of internal problems through conciliation". In this connexion, Mr. Sandys made it clear that it has always been the policy of the British Government to promote the inclusion of Katanga in the Congo.

Dr. Nkrumah expressed warm appreciation of the services rendered to Ghana by the British military personnel who had been serving with Ghana's armed forces. He referred to the request he had made for the establishment in Ghana of a British military training team and Mr. Sandys undertook to examine the request. (*Guardian*, October 6.)

*The Times* (October 6) commented: "Ghana's affairs are for her own people to regulate. . . . The forthcoming visit to Ghana of the Queen, as Head of the Commonwealth, must nevertheless have required Mr. Sandys to raise certain aspects of them during the many hours of discussion in Accra. The new arrests under the treason laws, following the recent strikes and the dismissal of 'old guard' Ministers, confirm the impression of foreign journalists that Dr. Nkrumah is wrestling at least with serious public discontent. This must bring into question the advisability of the Queen's visit, long-postponed and keenly desired as it is."

In a letter to *The Times* (October 12) Mr. E. L. Mallalieu, M.P. said: "Nkrumah may invite the Head of the Commonwealth to visit him: but other Commonwealth Ministers may also advise her not to go, if the proposed visit would, in their view, harm the Commonwealth, and I very much hope they will."

"For far too long we have officially turned the blind eye to the brutal quality of Nkrumah's dictatorship. Most would probably agree that a new country may need strong government; but Nkrumah has removed all possibility of constitutional opposition in his search for personal power. . . . It would be tragic if, at this juncture, the Head of the Commonwealth were to visit Nkrumah welcome though she would be to the people of Ghana. The visit would seem to condone the tragic course upon which he has set this fair land; and it would delay the return to this innocent people of the freedom which Nkrumah's present victims so brilliantly and peacefully won for them and which he has prostituted for his own glory."

Members of the Liberal Party also called for cancellation of the Queen's visit. Mr. Frank Byers, chairman of the Liberal Party organizing committee, said: "The Ghana Press is still attacking Britain and who knows but that some lunatic, and it only takes one, will find himself prompted to make a serious and devastating anti-British gesture. But, apart from the personal risk, there is another important reason why the monarch should not visit Ghana now. The Head of the Commonwealth cannot be placed in the position by her own advisers of condoning the arrest of Opposition members, without charges being brought against them, and the imprisonment of men and women who are inconvenient to the ruling power."

Mr. Jeremy Thorpe, Liberal M.P. for North Devon, who has recently returned from Ghana, said at Barnstaple: "It has become the inescapable duty of every statesman in the Commonwealth and the colonial territories to advise Her Majesty that for political and security reasons this is not an opportune moment for her to carry out her proposed visit to the Republic of Ghana."

Patrick O'Donovan writing in the *Observer* (October 22) said: "The cancellation in London of the royal visit to Ghana would mean the destruction of civilized relations between Ghana and Britain. It would be seen here as an irrevocable and final rejection. No excuse could palliate it. There is no thought of cancelling the visit on the part of the Ghanaian Government. Nor is it believed here that the security risks are of a sort to override the political consideration. There is no animus against the Queen; rather there is the same sort of uncritical affection and excitement that obtains in England."

Mr. James Callaghan (Labour) said he found it very difficult to believe the Queen's safety would be in danger. "I am confident the Government will do whatever they think necessary and appropriate in discussions with

other Commonwealth Governments, and the Ghana Government will of course take their part in this matter."

Mr. Sandys told the House that he considered the communique issued after his talks with President Nkrumah contained some very helpful declarations. He welcomed in particular the declaration by President Nkrumah that Ghana's policy would continue to be based on the principle of non-alignment. He particularly valued the advice he gave to the peoples of the remaining British colonies to rely on the good faith of Britain and to work for their independence through constitutional means. He believed that these and other statements in the communique were extremely valuable, and certainly reflected a genuine desire by President Nkrumah to improve relations. . . . Doubts have been voiced in the debate about the wisdom of the Queen's visit to Ghana at this time. The Government were well aware of the responsibility which rested upon them.

The date for the visit was fixed a long time ago and to cancel it now on political grounds would have a most serious effect upon the relations between our two countries. Nothing would suit those who dislike Britain, in Ghana, better than the cancellation of the Queen's visit and the crisis in our relations which would result. In addition to the political aspect, there is what in my view is the more important aspect, and that is the question of Her Majesty's safety. No royal tour in any country is without some element of danger and I can assure the House that if it should appear to us that the visit would involve abnormal risks, we would not hesitate to advise cancellation. In such circumstances I am sure that everyone in Ghana would understand and would agree that this was the only proper course.

The Government have reached the conclusion now that unless there is some significant change in the situation, we would not be justified in advising any alteration in Her Majesty's plans. (*Hansard*, October 19.)

Renewed anxiety was expressed when a series of bomb incidents took place in Accra on November 5 and 6. They caused no personal injury and were directed against the arch commemorating Ghana's independence, and the life-size statue of the President in the centre of the city.

Mr. Duncan Sandys then made a second visit and with the President toured the royal party's route with Dr. Nkrumah in an open car. Reassured by the goodwill shown by the crowds along the route Mr. Sandys flew back to London. The Cabinet decided that the Queen should be advised to undertake the tour as planned, and on November 10 the royal party left London. No incidents occurred during the tour.

#### High Commissioners Appointed

Mr. Kwesi Armah has been appointed as High Commissioner for Ghana in the United Kingdom. Mr. Armah has been deputy High Commissioner, and since the departure of Sir Edward Asafu-Adjaye has been acting in the post.

Mr. Geoffrey de Freitas, M.P. (Labour), has accepted the Government's invitation to become the next British High Commissioner in Ghana, in succession to Sir Arthur Snelling. Mr. de Freitas will give up his seat and take up his new duties towards the end of the year.

### President's Broadcast

President Nkrumah made a nation-wide broadcast on the stoppage of work in the Sekondi-Takoradi municipality on September 20.

The President said that if the railway workers disagreed with the policies of their constitutionally elected Government, they had every right to make their views known to the Government through their Members of Parliament whom they chose at the last elections; or, if they preferred, through the Trades Union Congress, which is the spokesman for the organized workers of the nation.

They object to the compulsory savings scheme, to the monthly deduction of income tax and to the Government's taxation policy as a whole, in fact to the whole budget. Osagyefo explained that the budget was arrived at after the most careful consideration by the Cabinet of the services which the Government must provide for the well-being of its people and of the fairest and most equitable way of finding the money to pay for these services.

He went on: "Nobody can deny that we have made spectacular progress as a result of the expanded activities and efforts of the Government. For a time it was possible to pay for those expended services without increasing the burden of taxation because the world cocoa price made it possible for us to earn the money through our exports. When the price of cocoa fell last year it became clear that the Government's services and its development expenditure could not be paid for without higher taxation, unless the money was found by a large reduction in the price of cocoa paid to the farmers.

"I was firmly convinced that if the situation called for additional sacrifices these must be distributed among all sectors of the community and not thrown on the farming community alone as has substantially been the case all these years. The Government has therefore decided to meet the problem in the most honest and equitable way, partly by cutting expenditure by raising additional taxes on commodities and incomes."

The President said: "I have tried to explain to you tonight how the budget is made up of two parts—first a programme of work and services, and second the means by which that programme is to be paid for. The taxation—direct and indirect—and other contributions which the people have been called upon to pay are needed to enable your Government to continue the work it has set out to do. That programme consists of many things—for example, of bringing more and better medical and health services for you and your children. For this alone we shall require over £10½ million this year as compared with £3 million in 1957. In 1957 there were scarcely 100 Government doctors in employment and another 300 under training, and during this year we hope to increase the number of practising Government doctors to about 350. For education, on which the future depends, we shall this year be spending over £15 million as compared with £9 million in 1957.

"These are some of the things for which we need money and also some of the things which we will have to forgo if we cannot raise money."

Osagyefo said it was with great sorrow and shame that he learned that some of the leaders of the strikers in Sekondi-Takoradi had addressed telegrams to foreign organizations seeking their support. These people had declared openly that they were determined to force the Government to alter its entire fiscal policies by unconstitutional means. In this action they had shamelessly and openly sought foreign support. "Is more evidence needed that we must be constantly on the alert if we are to maintain our hard-won independence?" he asked.

"There is something even more sinister than this. In an unsigned paper circulated throughout the country and purporting to come from the strikers, it has been suggested that our Republican Constitution should go back to the system of having a Governor-General and thus to revert to a past which we have just discarded. This clearly exposes the purpose of this strike and those who hide behind the strikers and instigate them." (*Ghana Today*, September 27.)

This broadcast followed the lifting of the limited state of emergency in Sekondi-Takoradi on September 18. On the President's orders the curfew was ended and all who had been arrested in connexion with the strike were released. Everyone was ordered back to work by the next morning.

## Resignations and Dismissals

The following ministers have been asked to resign: Mr. K. A. Gbedemah, Minister of Health; Mr. Kojo Botsio, Minister of Agriculture; Mr. E. Ayeh-Kumi, Executive Secretary, Development Secretariat; Mr. E. K. Dadson, Parliamentary Secretary; and Mr. W. A. Wiafe, Ministerial Secretary, Volta River Project Secretariat.

Six other members of the Government have been asked to surrender to the State specified properties which were in excess of the limits President Nkrumah had laid down. They are Mr. A. E. Inkumsah, Minister of the Interior; Mr. Krobo Edusei, Minister of Transport and Communications; Mr. E. K. Bensah, Minister of Works and Housing; Mr. E. H. T. Korboe, Eastern Regional Commissioner; Mr. J. E. Hagan, Central Regional Commissioner and Mr. C. de Graft Dickson, Minister of Defence.

Two regional Commissioners, Mr. E. H. T. Korboe and Mr. J. E. Hagan, also agreed to surrender specified properties in excess of the following: (1) More than two houses of a combined value of £20,000

sterling; (2) more than two cars; (3) plots of land with a present total value greater than £500 sterling.

Dr. Nkrumah said that he had also written to the Speaker of the National Assembly, Mr. J. R. Asiedu, "drawing his attention to the extensive nature of his business interests as shown by the (committee) report and asking him to consider his own position in the light of this and of the principles adopted concerning members of the Government".

Mr. Gbedemah and Mr. Botsio have been two of President Nkrumah's leading Ministers since independence and are close personal associates.

Mr. Botsio became full-time secretary of the Convention People's Party when it was formed in 1949 and the next year was arrested as a result of the "positive action" campaign. He was a member of the delegation which went to the Governor to request the release of Dr. Nkrumah from prison to lead the Government, and has accompanied him on many of his visits abroad. He was secretary of the C.P.P. inner central committee until replaced by Dr. Nkrumah.

Mr. Gbedemah ran the C.P.P. while Dr. Nkrumah and other Party leaders were in gaol. He was Finance Minister from July, 1954, to last May and handled most of the negotiations concerning the Volta River scheme, even after he left the Finance Ministry and became Minister of Health. Although sometimes criticized by younger Party leaders for being too moderate, he has been popular both in the Party and in Ghana. (*The Times*, September 29.)

Mr. Gbedemah was attacked in the *Ghana Evening News* (September 30). Under headlines "Gbedemah versus the poor people" and "Straight talk to a political Lucifer who has fallen from grace to grass", the paper accuses Mr. Gbedemah of having put Ghana in a bad financial position by his policies over the past seven years and condemns him for his "dog-like devotion to pro-Imperialist British personnel".

The paper accuses Mr. Gbedemah of having been persistently against the Government's more progressive measures and says he was the darling of the expatriate banks. (*Observer*, October 1.)

Mr. Gbedemah told a Press conference at his residence that "no real reasons" had been assigned for his dismissal. He had been asked to resign. He said he needed time to plan his future. "But I have no intention of quitting politics."

Mr. Gbedemah said that apart from his house and a poultry farm he began four years ago, he had no other business interests to declare. He told the President before his Eastern European tour that he was prepared to offer the farm "for any reasonable price the Government would pay to enable me to liquidate my outstanding debt".

He said it seemed that approaches had been made to certain other Ministers who had now agreed to hand over some of their properties to the State. No such request had been made to him. (*Ghana Daily Graphic*, September 30.)

Mr. Geoffrey Bing, Q.C., was replaced as Attorney-General by Mr. G. C. Mills Odoi on October 1. But the President's office said that Mr. Bing (who was for ten years a Labour M.P.) had agreed to stay in Ghana "to carry out certain assignments".

Mr. Bing first went to Ghana in 1950 to act in a murder trial, and held many important legal briefs in the Territory before being appointed constitutional adviser by Dr. Nkrumah. He visited London in 1957 in connexion with Ghana's independence. His original appointment as Attorney-General was for a term of twelve months, but this was later renewed. (*The Times*, October 2.)

Major-General H. T. Alexander, British Chief of Ghana's Defence Staff for twenty months, has been replaced. President Nkrumah has taken over supreme command of the armed forces. Major-General S. J. A. Otu takes over the administration from General Alexander, who played a major role with U.N. Ghanaian troops in the Congo last year. General Alexander was informed that his command had been ended when called to see President Nkrumah at his residence, on September 22. On arrival in London he said he was "really staggered" by his dismissal. But he had felt that there was "something in the wind". Asked whether the reason for his dismissal was personal or military, he said: "It is political."

It was announced on October 5 that eighty British officers serving in

the Ghana Army in command posts were returning to their home units. (*Ghana Daily Graphic*, October 6.)

Commenting on the ministerial resignations, *The Times* (September 29) said: "At first glance it may seem that Mr. Gbedemah and Mr. Botsio have little in common. In so far as European political labels are valid, Mr. Gbedemah is a man of the right, Mr. Botsio of the left. Yet they were both influential, experienced, and mature members of Ghana's old guard. Coming so soon after the abrupt dismissal of General Alexander and other British officers from the Army, the removal of Mr. Gbedemah must be seen partly as a further step by President Nkrumah to safeguard his own position. The Army and Mr. Gbedemah were the two obvious rallying points for anti-Nkrumah elements.

"The other reason for the changes—the possession of 'varied business connexions'—shows no inconsistency with the anti-corruption policy launched by the President in his dawn broadcast in April, although Dr. Nkrumah has made clear that there was no evidence of irregularity in ministerial conduct. There is consistency, too, in substituting members of the younger generation of politicians for the older men. . . .

"Why has the change from the old to the new taken place with such devastating speed? For the answer one must measure Ghana's recent successes and failures and try to see what lessons the President will have deduced from them. Above all was the collapse of his policy and hopes in the Congo after Lumumba—'my dear Patrice'—was killed. Recent events in Katanga have undoubtedly exacerbated the bitterness that this engendered, and have increased feelings that somehow the European military advisers—and by extension, the old guard—were to blame.

"At the same time President Nkrumah must realize that anti-colonialism excellent though it is as a rallying cry on the march to independence, is a negative creed for an adult nation. Pan-Africanism is more positive, but Ghana's efforts to rally other African countries behind her have not met with much success. Some inspiration is needed to quicken the hearts of the coming generation, some positive African ideology must be built up. The old guard could not provide it. So must President Nkrumah have reasoned.

"The changes will do nothing to reassure the American interests who have become increasingly concerned over the economic problems involved in the Volta scheme; they had already been upset by the success of Dr. Nkrumah's tour in the Communist bloc and by the signing of a long-term trade agreement with Russia. Certainly it is disturbing to see men of experience dropped in this way. More and more Dr. Nkrumah is relying on young functionaries and ideologists to carry out his ideas of strong government."

J. A. Dumar, writing in the *Lausanne Gazette* (October 3), said that the forced resignations of Mr. Botsio and Mr. Gbedemah were significant. These two with Dr. Nkrumah formed a triumvirate which brought independence to Ghana. It was Mr. Gbedemah's moderate attitude and not his alleged possession of properties which was not in accordance with present-day taste. His departure, like that of Mr. Botsio, was a victory for some of the radical young nationalists on the extreme left whose power is growing. The new High Commissioner for Ghana in London Mr. Kwesi Armah was one of them and he had caused anxiety in the Commonwealth Relations Office by his activities.

"But," M. Dumar asked, "is it inevitable that Ghana allies herself with the Soviet Union? Great Britain is maintaining a remarkable reserve on the question. . . . The lesson of Cuba has not been lost everywhere! If Dundan Sandys has taken a plane to Accra, it is in order to convince Dr. Nkrumah of the value London attaches to Ghana's membership of the Commonwealth. Thus the English are forestalling a *faux-pas* by the United States which is ready to regard Dr. Nkrumah as a man of Moscow. What line will the Democrats take in Washington? The precedent of Suez, when John Foster Dulles withdrew the promised loan for the Aswan dam, and the nationalization of the canal followed, evidently gives them cause to reflect."

### Arrests

The arrest and detention of fifty persons engaged in subversive activities was ordered by the Government. Amongst them were Mr. Joe Appiah,

Dr. J. B. Danquah, and Mr. Victor Owusu, all lawyers and leading members of the United Party. A Government statement announcing the detention said the Government had become increasingly aware of the clandestine and dangerous activities of certain individuals in the country. These activities were deliberately calculated to subvert and to endanger the security of the State.

"They include acts of violence, secret meetings, the taking of secret oaths to assassinate the President and certain members of the Government, strikes, sabotage and lock-outs. These are all designed to effect the violent overthrow of the lawfully constituted Government. The evidence disclosed the conspiracies of these persons to be dark and their conduct destructive and subversive against the Constitution and other legal institutions of the State."

"What is more," the statement goes on, "there has been mounting evidence of persistent, unscrupulous and malicious rumours spread by them to mislead the country and to throw it into anarchy and confusion. The Government cannot remain indifferent to such acts of wanton disregard of the peace and security of the State."

The *Nigerian Daily Express* (October 5) said: "With the arrest and detention of Dr. J. B. Danquah, Mr. Joe Appiah, Mr. Victor Owusu and forty-seven of their prominent followers, it is now good-bye to parliamentary democracy in Ghana. For these men are not only Ghana's top lawyers, but also the leading members of the United Opposition Party."

Reminding readers of the glorious hopes all had when Ghana first attained her independence, the paper goes on to say: "Ghana was the first indigenous African State to emerge from colonial rule. In the circumstances, much hope was placed in her and upon the man who led her to freedom. . . . Now Nkrumah's intentions in all this might have been good ones—republicanism, socialism, security of the State, preservation of the Constitution and all that. But it is now clear for all to see that all along the way he was paving could only lead to the hell of arrest and detention of all who dared to criticize the shepherd."

### Criminal Procedure Bill

The Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Act provides for a fine of up to £500 or three years' imprisonment for any person found guilty of intent to bring the President into hatred, contempt or ridicule. It also provides that there shall be a special court, consisting of a presiding judge and two other members of the High Court, for the trial of offences against the State. These Courts will have power to impose the death penalty.

Introducing the Second Reading, Mr. Kwaku Boateng, Minister of the Interior and Local Government, said the Bill made no new provisions into the existing criminal law. "It is only designed to fill an omission or lacuna by making it an offence for unscrupulous persons who by their act and conduct show disrespect to the person and dignity of the Head of State, now our beloved Osagyefo the President of the Republic of Ghana." Mr. Kwaku Boateng said that section 345 of the old criminal code made it an offence for anyone to do an act with the intent to bring the Head of State, then the Queen, into hatred, contempt or ridicule. The Bill was therefore nothing new.

Mr. Boateng also asked how it could be imagined that a Bill setting up a Court sought to do away with the hard-won liberties of his countrymen. He continued: "The Government of Ghana believes that the establishment of this Court augurs well for the future, for in it lies the seeds of the true welfare of the people of Ghana. That this is so will soon be clear. But who is here that believes that our Government, presided over by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, who is so constitutional in all his deeds, so wise and kind as he has always been, representing at this moment, that great Party, the Convention People's Party, which is established in the cause of African independence, and freedom, could create a system of court offensive to our motto: Freedom and Justice."

Mr. Boateng said present exigencies in the country demanded the introduction of the Bill. "Indeed it is imperative that there should be such a Bill in this country. As in any other civilized country, the laws are never silent. They may be changed, they may be altered, they may be amended,

but at all times in war or in peace they speak the same language, that of safeguarding the hard-won independence of the people. Ghana must change with the times and with those changes must come modifications in the existing legal system, whether it be civil or criminal. It would therefore be obviously undesirable not to create this special criminal division within the High Court of Justice," he added.

Mr. Boateng explained that the High Court had jurisdiction at present to try many offences summarily. There was a procedure that under the Bill there would be similar application to the summary trial, subject to the directions of the Court and to any legislative instrument made by the President, adapting or modifying that procedure. The Bill thus dispenses with the present procedure whereby indictable offences begin with a preliminary hearing before a district magistrate, and provides that the Attorney-General may institute proceedings in respect of specified offences directly before the Special Criminal Division of the High Court.

"It must be understood that the Bill gives the President no power to amend the criminal code so as to create any new offence or to impose any special punishment for any existing offence." The provision that there should be no appeal from the Special Court had been made because of the gravity with which the Government regard "the conspiracies of these subversive elements," Mr. Boateng said.

The Bill was opposed by Mr. K. A. Gbedemah who said that if it passed into law would mean that "the liberty of the individual has been extinguished for ever". If the "firing squad is to be introduced into Ghana there will be many persons ready to face the squad, but it will not be the freedom for which we were imprisoned and which we struggled for."

In 1958, Mr. Gbedemah said, the National Assembly in order to ensure that the hard-won freedom of the people of the country should be safeguarded, in all sincerity, passed the Preventive Detention Act. "What do we find in the application of that act? How many people are languishing in gaol today, detained under this act? I do not wish to give the answer but I think the Minister of the Interior knows and I wish to say that many of these people are alleged to have been involved in plots to overthrow the Government."

Mr. Gbedemah said that Preventive Detention Act became an instrument of terrorism. There were people threatening others that once anyone spoke his mind, he would be detained. He appealed to the House to reject the Bill. "Any vote for the Bill will be a premature nailing of the coffin of Mother Ghana," Mr. Gbedemah said.

Mr. A. E. Ofori-Atta, Minister of Justice, said the Bill was "directed against criminals" and did not in any way interfere with the liberty of the subject. He denied that it provided "shooting as a penalty".

### Dr. Busia Resigns

Dr. Kofi Busia who was the first leader of the Opposition Party in Ghana announced in London on October 10 that he had resigned his posts as Professor of Sociology in the Institute of Social Studies at the Hague, and as Professor of Sociology and the Culture of Africa at the University of Leiden. Addressing a Press conference in London he said: "I felt impelled to resign for two reasons. The first is, if you like, an expression of faith. An expression of my faith that in spite of everything that is happening in Ghana now we are still capable of fulfilling the hopes which arose when we launched out on independence four years ago. I am convinced that we are still capable of providing evidence of equality with other members of the human race, evidence by achievement. My belief has always been and still is that the African countries, if they choose, can develop not only economically but politically in freedom maintaining all democratic standards. . . .

"There is a second reason: there were others with me in my Party, the United Party, who shared what I feel. Many of them are now in prison, no longer able to speak, and it means that those of us who are still outside should put out the ideas for which we have stood."

When he was asked if he would join forces with the Ministers who had been forced to resign Dr. Busia said: "This would depend on who they are and what policies they are going to advocate. It would depend on whether they were in opposition merely because they have been driven away or whether they are in opposition because they have seen certain

things which they feel are wrong. With the latter category it would be possible to work."

"He said that he thought the arrests had taken place now because the Government's economic policy has caused a lot of discontent, it has led to strikes and demonstrations by those people who were once supporters of the Government but there must always be a scapegoat. They must have been put on to this either by the opposition or imperialists. Sometimes they both mean the same thing."

### Students' Opposition

Mr. O. K. Poku, president of the newly formed Ghana Student's Association, said in London at a Press conference that one of Dr. Nkrumah's great weapons in crushing criticism was fear. We want to show that at least some Ghanaians who oppose his policies are not afraid to show their faces in public. We are prepared to meet any hardship in defence of our views—to face death if necessary. (*Guardian*, October 21.)

Membership of the G.S.A. is approximately 360.

More than 3,793 Ghanaians studied in British universities and technical colleges during the last academic year. According to a report published by the London Conference on Overseas Students, Ghana had the highest number of students in Britain. (*Ghana Daily Graphic*, October 13.)

### Cadets to Russia

The *Ghanaian Times* (October 14) said that the Government's action in sending sixty-one officer cadets of the Ghana Army to the Soviet Union for training deserved "the loudest applause, not only from the people of this country, but from all who understand and respect our policy of positive neutralism and non-alignment". Their course will last three and a half years. By virtue of her colonial attachment Ghana's armed forces at the time for her independence was Western in orientation. All her training had been done in the West and to a great degree, "our Army had been officered by Britons".

This state of affairs however had become wholly incompatible as, under the guidance and leadership of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana evolved her clear-cut, unbending policy of positive neutralism and leaning to neither the East nor the West. The first requirement was to ensure that the entire Ghanaian Army was commanded by Ghanaians, and thereafter, while the need was still there for foreign hands in our training, to broaden the scope of our training to reflect our policy of non-alignment.

Thus, Major-General S. J. A. Otu was promoted to take over from a Briton, Major-General Alexander, as Chief of Defence Staff and, along with this, all command positions in the Ghana Armed Forces were handed to Ghana under the supreme command of the Father of the Nation.

"There is a great deal in Soviet scientific and technological advancement to enhance world progress. We are sure our boys will, in their studies, always bear in mind that they owe it as a duty to Mother Africa to patriotically and loyally apply the knowledge and experience they will acquire in the U.S.S.R. to the benefit of our peoples. We take this opportunity to express our profound gratitude to the friendly Government of the U.S.S.R. for making it possible for our cadets to undergo this training."

### Ghana University

The University College of Ghana, which was set up in 1948 and stood in special relationship with the University of London, became the Ghana University on October 2.

The opening ceremony was performed by the former Agriculture Minister, Mr. Kojo Botsio (one of six Ministers who were dismissed by President Nkrumah), who is also a member of the interim council. President Nkrumah will perform the official opening of the University next December. (*Guardian*, October 3.)

### Education Bill

Introduction of compulsory education, with fines for defaulting parents, represents for Ghana and Africa a remarkable revolution from which more dramatic events have diverted attention. This is the first time that education has been made compulsory for Africans anywhere: the

new Ghana Education Bill also places on all local authorities the duty of providing "efficient education throughout the primary and middle stages" for all areas—a legal way of describing universal education particularly important in Ghana because it affects the North. Primary and Middle School education is also to be free, while there is to be much closer supervision of private schools. Parents will, however, have to provide books, stationery and other materials for children. The Bill also established a Teachers' Council with the object of preserving high professional standards and conduct.

Mr. Dowuona-Hammond, when he explained to Parliament his Ministry's intentions, did not minimize the difficulties of making education universal. It has widely been believed that virtually all children in Ghana go to school already but, in fact, the Minister explained that compulsory education would probably mean trebling the school population, which in its turn would mean that a thousand new schools would be needed. The only thing to cope with these numbers would be a shift system, for operating which the New Zealand Government is offering assistance.

But the shortage of teachers is more serious than shortage of schools and once again untrained teachers will for a time outnumber trained ones in Ghana's primary and middle schools. Fortunately, however, secondary schools are now, for the first time, able to cope not only with their present numbers but with the expected increase. Successful overseas recruitment and the services of the U.S. Peace Corps, mean that there are now enough graduate teachers in Ghana. (*West Africa*, October 28.)

### Aid from China and Czechoslovakia<sup>1</sup>

The agreement on economic and technical co-operation signed in Peking during the visit of President Nkrumah provided for Ghana to receive from the People's Republic of China a non-interest bearing loan of £7 million without any conditions or privileges attached. The loan is to be repaid within a period of ten years from July 1, 1971, in instalments either with export goods of Ghana or with currency of a third country agreed to by China.

Another agreement on trade and payments signed in Peking is to extend credit of exportation on each side to the total value of £4 million. To promote and facilitate trade between the two countries, it was agreed to grant each other the most favoured treatment in respect of the following: customs duty and all other duties and taxes applicable to the exportation, or transit of commodities; customs prescriptions and formalities as well as all dues and charges in relation to importation, exportation, transit, storage and transhipment of commodities, when exported, imported or in transit; and issuance of import and export licences and the formalities thereof.

China will send to Ghana machinery including machine tools, forging and pressing machinery, building machinery and road construction machinery and agricultural implements, instruments and electrical appliances.

Ghana will export to China raw cocoa beans, cocoa butter and cocoa powder, ground nuts, palm kernels and oil, coco-nut oil, copra, cotton, hides and skins, diamonds for industrial purposes, tobacco leaves, coffee, sugar, grains and timber. (*Ghana Today*, September 13.)

Czechoslovakia is to build sugar, shoe and tyre factories costing £5 million in Ghana in the next five years. Agreement to this effect was signed in Prague recently. Under the agreement, the Czech Government will also set up tanning and plywood factories and four hydro-electric plants and a hospital with 200 beds. Czech experts will shortly leave for Ghana in connexion with the project.

## Ivory Coast

### Trade with Italy

IN the course of the recent Turin Conference on the problems of Italy's economy, Aoussou Koffi the Ivory Coast Ambassador to Italy spoke of the growing opportunities of economic agreements between his country

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IX, 2.

and Italy. Trade with Italy had increased by 2,000 million francs (C.F.A.), which was 3 per cent of the export trade of the Ivory Coast, and 1 per cent of Italy's overseas trade. In 1960 the Ivory Coast's exports included coffee, cocoa, timber, and bananas.

Exports from Italy to Ivory Coast included textiles, foodstuffs, tyres, machinery and tools, chemical products, building materials, vehicles and spare parts.

The Ambassador said there were several reasons to hope for expanded trade. Firstly there was the close proximity to Africa, and the historical links between Europe and Africa. Then Ivory Coast is associated with the Common Market of which Italy is a member. A welcome development was the opening of an Italian office for overseas trade at Abidjan. In the sphere of industrialization, the Ambassador said, Italy could give considerable help to the Ivory Coast. There were different sectors of industry, forestry, in particular, which required the installation of factories, to undertake utilization of timber. In the building industry, the production of bricks and cement could be increased.

Under a law of 1959 private investment was protected in the Ivory Coast. But it was clear that certain other guarantees were needed. The Ambassador spoke of the assurances given by President Houphouët Boigny on January 3 in the National Assembly, that the Ivory Coast would never follow a policy of nationalization of overseas private enterprise. In accordance with its resources, the State will take a vital interest in the enterprises. If, in the general interest, the State should take over private concerns, it would only do so after negotiations for the repurchasing of existing installations.

The speaker concluded by saying that opportunities for development of business interests existed equally each side. In all cases concerning the Ivory Coast the impetus was there. Italian cars were appearing in the country and because of their high standard it would not be long before they achieved popularity on the local market. Economic co-operation could be beneficial on both sides and there was a good market for Italy in the Ivory Coast.

## Liberia

### Communist Threat

A PLAN to overthrow the Liberian Government and establish a Communist régime with the help of the Soviet Embassy was foiled by the Liberian security service, according to an official announcement on September 27. The announcement said that the Liberian Justice Department had a "conclusive case" against a man named as Booker T. Bracewell, who was said to be concerned in the alleged plan.

Prior to this announcement the Liberian Legislature had passed Bills giving President Tubman, as Chief Executive, wide emergency powers to meet internal or external threats to the security of the State.

The Bills authorized him to increase the national guard to a maximum of 5,000 men, declare defence areas and mobilize for military, social or other national service all able-bodied men from 16 to 25. They also give him power to remove the seat of Government to a safe area, to remove aliens or the population to safe areas and to search, seize or commandeer vehicles for defence or security purposes. (*Nigerian Outlook*, September 18.)

### Interference by Ghanaians

The Liberian Government has asked for the immediate recall of the Second Secretary of the Ghana Embassy in Monrovia. President Tubman said the reason for the recall was interference in Liberian domestic affairs, but he declined to reveal the details which, he added, were notified to the Ghana Government. The President said the Liberian Government was loath to believe that the secretary, Mr. A. Boateng, had indulged in such activities with the consent of his Government and hence it had not declared him *persona non grata* but merely requested his immediate recall. The President also said that a few Ghanaians who had arrived recently, some with false names, others without passports or visas, were deported. These were among a group of 136 Ghanaians, mostly fishermen and mechanics, who disembarked recently.

A Justice Department spokesman has said that hitherto no restrictions had been imposed on immigration from African countries but the Government was now considering establishing quotas with a view to avoiding too many immigrants from the same country. (*West Africa*, September 30.)

# Nigeria

## National Provident Fund

A NATIONAL Provident Fund for Nigerian workers came into being on October 1.

The Federal Minister of Labour, Mr. J. Modupe Johnson, explained that the fund was introduced because it was the conviction of the Federal Government that existing social security measures for the workers were inadequate.

Under the new proposals a National Provident Fund will be established and both workers and their employers will contribute to it. The contributions both from the workers and the employers will be at the rate of 3d. for every 5s. wages. There will be a maximum contribution in any one month of £2, either by the worker or by the employer, with proportionate reductions where wages are paid fortnightly and weekly.

At a retirement age of 55 the worker will be entitled to a lump sum representing the amount of the workers' and his employers' contributions plus interest. Full payment will be made from the fund also should a worker become a permanent invalid, and unable to work; should a worker emigrate with no intention of returning to Nigeria; when the worker has been out of paid work for two years or when the worker dies before receiving the amount due to him—in which case a payment will be made to his relatives. There is provision for limited sickness benefit, but this will not be introduced at the start of the scheme.

At the commencement, on October 1, the scheme will first apply to non-pensionable workers of the Federal Government, Regional Governments and Federal Public Corporations. On January 1, 1962, it will be extended to the workers of private employers with 400 or more workers. Then on April 1, 1962, it will be extended to the workers of private employers with from ten to 399 workers and to the Local Government and Native Authorities non-pensionable employees and to Regional Public Corporations. After this stage, there is to be a period of consolidation before the scheme is extended to employers with less than ten workers and to casual and contract workers. A number of questions were left unanswered in the statement, for example the standing of existing Provident Fund schemes, but the Minister said that the Government proposals for these would be explained at a later date.

## Education

### Eastern Region

The University of Nigeria has received a gift of \$1 million from the United States for the building of a hostel for married students in the University. Thirty graduates, members of President Kennedy's Peace Corps Mission, are taking up appointments as Assistant Lecturers in the University. (*News from Nigeria*, September 30.)

Dr. M. I. Okpara, Premier of the Eastern Region, addressed the University convocation at the beginning of its second year on October 12. He said: "The Eastern Region's University of Nigeria can contribute materially to Nigeria's greatness through courageous and deliberate planning." Today, as a result of that planning, the University of Nigeria has a multi-racial student body of over 1,000, made up of Germans, Indians, Cameroonians, Americans and Nigerians. The academic staff, now about eighty-five strong, is similarly composed of men and women from many races—specialists in languages, the sciences, economics, agriculture, sociology, fine arts, music and journalism. In its second year the University of Nigeria will gradually be fulfilling its principal aim which, according to Dr. Azikiwe, the Governor-General of Nigeria and chairman of the Council of the University, is "to blend the concepts and practices which have been tried and tested in the two oldest English-speaking countries and to adapt them to this part of Africa".

### Northern Region

The Government of Northern Nigeria has assumed full responsibility for the Zaria Branch of the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology. Announcing this take-over a Government statement issued at Kaduna stated that the Northern Nigerian Government had agreed, on the suggestion of the Federal Government, to assume responsibility for the College in view of the progressive dissolution of the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology as a unitary body. This agreement, the statement added, is subject to the condition that satisfactory financial arrangements can be made with the Federal Government.

In the other two regions the agencies taking over similar institutions are Universities whereas in Northern Nigeria the agency will be the Northern Government. This is because the report of Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders and his Commission on the establishment of a University for Northern Nigeria has only recently been received and there was too little time between to establish the University of the North as the agency taking over the College at Zaria.

It is the desire of the Northern Nigeria Government that, in the interest of the Federation—and the Zaria Branch serves the whole Federation—the transition period from College (quasi-Federal) status, through some form of Northern Government status, to University status shall elapse with the minimum inconvenience to the existing staff and students at Zaria. Also in the interest of the Federation, the Government has raised no objection to the intake of fresh batches of students for existing courses at Zaria. These courses are in engineering, architecture, fine art, and teacher training.

### Television in Schools

Over 150 schools in Western Nigeria and Lagos began watching WNTV television for schools this month when the third term of Schools TV got under way. WNTV is the first commercial and educational television network in Africa. (*News from Western Nigeria*, October 11.)

## Foreign Policy

Nigeria did not send delegates to the Belgrade Conference of Non-Aligned States and the Federal Prime Minister gave as the reason that a formal invitation had not been issued to Nigeria initially and was only forthcoming after "some people begged for us to be invited".

Mr. Jaja Wachuku told the General Assembly of the U.N. that Nigeria's policy towards the Congo wholeheartedly supported the Leopoldville régime of Mr. Cyrille Adoula. He said Portugal should accept the principle of independence for Angola and recognize the nationalist leaders in Angola and Mozambique and try to find means of setting up governments in those lands.

On South Africa and the mandated territory of South West Africa, Mr. Wachuku said that a "microscopic" minority continued to dominate a majority. This was "ridiculous and impossible," he said. "We are opposed to everything that the South African Government stands for. But we are quite prepared to accept them as Africans as long as they act as Africans."

"If they do not change, the future will make it clearly impossible for South Africa to live side by side with the majority of Black Africa," he declared.

On the U.N. itself, Mr. Wachuku said he was surprised that there was pessimism about its future, and he did not share this view.

"We say to the great powers: take away your rockets; experiment with your atoms in your own kitchens. To France we say: go to the Pyrenees and set off your bombs there. We should put up the sign: keep off Africa."

Mr. Wachuku appealed to all African Governments to solve African problems through unity. "It is the intention of my Government to get all African States to solve their internal problems internally and not in this General Assembly," he said. (*Ghana Daily Graphic*, October 12.)

## Protecting Parliament

It is now illegal for more than fifty persons to gather together within a mile of the Houses of Parliament in Lagos when Parliament is in session. An Act to this effect has been passed and its object is to protect M.P.s

from public molestation during sittings and to ensure that public affairs are conducted in a very quiet and congenial atmosphere.

Introducing the Seditious Meetings Bill, the Attorney-General and Minister of Justice, Dr. T. O. Elias, Q.C., referred to demonstrations last year outside Parliament buildings in which some M.P.s were man-handled. He assured the House that the law would not apply when Parliament was not in session. Several speakers criticized the new law saying it curtailed the right of the citizen to express his opposition against offensive Government measures. (*Nigerian Outlook*, September 4.)

### Press Attack Opposition Leader

The *Sunday Post* (September 24) attacked Chief Obafemi Awolowo for his lecture, given in London, on "The Philosophy for Independent Nigeria". It said: "It is interesting that Chief Awolowo, known up to the Federal election of 1959 as the greatest enemy of Ghana and Russia, is now their champion. I would like Chief Awolowo, the oppositionist at all costs, to tell us what happened to Dr. Busia, the Awolowo of Ghana. If he does not know, I can inform him that he is in exile, a fugitive from the mischief of the Preventive Detention Act of the 'dynamic' Ghana Government. Who is the leader of the Opposition in dynamic Russia . . . ?"

*Post* demanded that Chief Awolowo should substantiate allegations that under the Defence Pact with Britain<sup>1</sup> there were already some personnel of the British Air Force in Nigeria; some members of the British Military Forces are on duty round the clock at the control tower of the Kano Airport; and that N.A.T.O. still operates an exclusive secret wireless frequency in most parts of Nigeria.

It is clear that when Chief Awolowo knows about "exclusive secret wireless frequency" it ceases to be secret and he should be able to give the particulars to the curious public of Nigeria, even if he failed to give them to the Nigerian students in London.

### Northern Region's Cabinet

Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, Premier of the Northern Region, has announced Cabinet changes.

Five new Ministers have been appointed. Mr. H. H. Marshall, Q.C., the Attorney-General, continues as the only *ex officio* member of the Cabinet. Six new parliamentary secretaries have been appointed.

Ministers with portfolios are: Finance, Alhaji Aliyu, Makaman Bida; Agriculture, Alhaji Mustafa Monguno; Education, Alhaji Isa Kaita, Madakin Katsina; Animal Health and Forestry Health, Mr. Mu'azu Lamido, Alhaji Ahman, Galadiman Pategi; Internal Affairs, Alhaji Mohammad Kabir, Ciroman Katagum; Information, Alhaji Ibrahim Biu; Land and Survey, Malam Ibrahim Musa Gashash; Local Government, Mr. Sule Gaya; Social Welfare and Co-operatives, Fatika Sarkin Fan Zazzau; Trade and Industry, Mr. Michael Audu Buba; Works, Alhaji Shehu Usman, Galadiman Maskar; Economic Planning, Alhaji Bashar, Wamban Daura; Establishment and Training, Alhaji Umaru Sarkin Fillanin Ja'Idanawa. (*The Times*, September 26.)

### Premier Calls for Honest Administration

The Premier of Northern Nigeria, Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto, has announced that he will advise the Executive Council to appoint a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the affairs of Zaria Native Authority. He had been led to understand that much intrigue was going on within the Council. Unfortunately instead of working as a team for the progress of the emirate, the Council had on several occasions been found lacking in carrying out its collective responsibility. "As long as intrigue prevails the Native Authority will be paralysed and so will inevitably fail to meet its obligations to the people," the Premier added. Continuing he said, "I am aware there are other Native Authorities, large and small, which have similar failings, although theirs have not yet come to light. Most Native Authorities feel that with the attainment of Independence they have absolute control over their affairs and can do what they like. They are wrong." The Premier reminded such Native Authorities that his Government will not hesitate to remove any obstacles in its determination to maintain law, order and government. Every measure, he said, including

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IX, 2.

the delegation of extensive powers to Administrative Officers to check maladministration and wastage of public funds and to ensure that every Native Authority employee gets its own desert will be taken by his Government.

Speaking specifically to the Emir of Zaria and Councillors, the Premier said: "A remedy to the disease which is eating away your vitality is imperative. It is going to be bitter. I will advise the Executive Council to appoint an independent commission to inquire into the administration of this emirate and recommend necessary reforms of the administrative machinery and the composition of this Council. Every effort must be made to help that commission."

Appointment of the Commission of Inquiry was approved. Its chairman is Mallam Muhammadu Kobo, Emir of Lapai. Other members are Alhaji Bello Dandago, Sarkin Dawaki Maituta and Mr. W. D. Wilson, Acting Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Information. (*N. Nigerian News*, September.)

The Northern Region Government has also condemned the victimization of political opponents of the ruling Northern Peoples Congress in the Region.

The Government was replying to an allegation by Mr. V. Orjime, a leader of the U.M.B.G. Action Group alliance, the members of his party were being persecuted in Northern Nigeria. The Government said in reply to the allegation that it viewed such acts, if they existed, with seriousness. It was however satisfied that the allegations were "vague and without foundation". (*Nigerian Outlook*, September 15.)

### Law and Order in West

Both the Eastern Nigeria Premier, Dr. M. I. Okpara, and his Western Nigerian counterpart, Chief S. L. Akintola, have jointly appealed to their supporters in Western Nigeria to co-operate with the forces of law and order.

In a joint statement issued at Kaduna after the meeting of the Nigerian Police Council on Saturday the two Premiers said: "In the interest of solidarity of the Federation of Nigeria and the unity of her people, we individually and collectively, after mutual consultations and friendly exchange of views, solemnly resolve to use our influence to persuade all our men in authority to exercise these powers fairly and in a manner conducive to the peace and progress of the Federation.

"We also agree to dissuade such of our sympathizers as may be tempted to take the law into their hands and to indulge in any excess in the treatment of their fellow compatriots but to think always of the good name of Nigeria and treat all Nigerian citizens irrespective of their political affiliation as brothers.

"We appeal to all leaders of our Parties to use their influence to ensure the continuance of law and order, peace and harmony among the people of Nigeria."

It had been recently alleged by leaders of the N.C.N.C. that law and order in Western Nigeria, where the Action Group is in control, had broken down. This was denied by the Western Government.

Dr. Okpara told reporters that the decisions taken at Kaduna were a major step towards the restoration of law and order in Western Nigeria. (*Nigerian Outlook*, September 18.)

## Senegal

### President Visits Britain

THE President of Senegal, M. Leopold Senghor, paid an official visit to Britain from October 24 to 28.

Hella Pick wrote in the *Guardian* (October 25): "M. Senghor has dominated the political scene in Senegal, which was France's oldest colony in Africa, since the end of the last war, even though he had not held a responsible post in the country's Government until he was elected President last year. Since breaking with the French Socialists, M. Senghor had his own Party, which now holds all seats in Senegal's Parliament. But he has remained a Socialist, and is constantly developing his ideas of 'African socialism' which now represents a mixture of Marxist and Christian humanist ideas.

"M. Senghor, who speaks perfect English is safely—too safely for some African tastes—in the Western camp. But the protagonists of African unity should not forget that he is also one of the prime architects of the Brazzaville Group, now called the Union of African States and Madagascar—which has within a short space of time succeeded in establishing effective organized inter-African co-operation, and which is being extended through the Monrovia Group, to take in English-speaking countries of Africa. To dismiss M. Senghor as a Frenchman in African clothing, which some people are prone to do, is to misunderstand, not only his whole life's aims, but also his current work in Africa."

### New Political Party

A new political party, the Senegalese Masses Block "supporting the concepts of an African federation and the rebirth of consciousness of African historical unity" has been announced in Dakar. President of the Party is M. Samba Diop, former Socialist excluded from the Government Party, the Senegalese Progressive Union. General secretary is the African writer and university professor Cheikh Anta Diop.

The aims of the Party are the establishment of "democratic liberty" in Senegal, the "decolonization" of Government in Africa based on "European structures unadapted to truly African nations", and African federation. (*West Africa*, September 23.)

### Attitudes to Gambia and Mali

An official statement from the Embassy of the Republic of Senegal in London said: "Our attitude towards the future status of the Gambia is based on our understanding that the territories of the Gambia and Senegal are ethnically, geographically, economically and historically one unit; and that division was imposed only by a hazard of colonization. Thus we feel that it would be only natural if the Gambians sought to unite with us after achieving their independence."

"The formula for such a union would however be decided at meetings between Senegalese and Gambian representatives. Our aim, meanwhile, is to establish the most cordial relations with the Gambians, convinced as we are that realities will bring us closer. We have no intention of taking any other initiative in this matter: it will be up to the Gambians to decide what they want once they have got their independence."

*The Times* (October 14) added that the Embassy spokesman also said that Senegal inclined towards "loose confederal associations between former colonies and territories within their natural and ethnic groupings. We are equally hesitant concerning excessive 'fragmentation' on the one hand and artificial power groupings on the other. Both, we feel, are calculated to produce undemocratic internal régimes and unnecessary regional communications and economic difficulties."

Of Senegal's relations with Mali the official spokesman said: "Because the territory of our former federal partner, the Sudan, is now cut off from its natural outlet to the sea at Dakar, we would be willing to engage in talks on economic co-operation and similar subjects at any time. But as the main source of disagreement between ourselves and the Malians, while partners, was their desire for a unitary administration, we feel bound to make it clear that such talks must be held as between two separate and independent governments."

## Sierra Leone

### U.N. Membership

DR. JOHN KAREFA-SMART, Foreign Minister, went to New York to negotiate his country's membership of the U.N. Eventually on September 27, the Security Council endorsed Sierra Leone's application for admission. The Council had decided to give priority to Sierra Leone's application in order to avoid it becoming part of the year-old controversy over Mauritania's membership.

### Growing Diamond Wealth

Last year's mineral exports showed an increase of about £6 million over the previous year's total export of some £13.7 million, it has been stated here. Export figures showed that in July this year the Government

diamond office made purchases amounting to £567,000 to bring the total purchases for the year to £8½ million.

The Sierra Leone Selection Trust is planning investment of £500,000 in the Yengema and Tongo diamond fields during the current year.

Major increases in iron ore milling will be made possible by the improvement of port facilities at Pepel. Milling capacity at Marampa should increase by about 50 per cent. (*Ghana News Agency*, October 15.)

## Upper Volta

### A Question of Alignment

EVE DESSARE, writing in *Afrique Action* (October 14-20), said that the Upper Volta through its membership of the *Conseil de L'Entente* played a key role between the Ivory Coast and the Niger-Dahomey group of West African states. But it was also linked with the Bamako-Accra partnership and through its direct agreements with these two countries was strengthening the Ghana-Guinea-Mali union.

Being a land-locked country without any geographical logic, Upper Volta is dependent on its neighbours (Mali, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Togo, Dahomey, and Niger); after the 1958 referendum it agreed to form part of the Mali Federation, but then turned back to associate with the Ivory Coast and the *Conseil de L'Entente*. Today there is again a question about its future.

Eve Dessare pointed out that at present the Upper Volta seemed to be looking more towards the Ghana-Guinea-Mali union, and to be moving "left". For the present strong feelings against the Ivory Coast were overcoming internal divisions. The cause of these feelings was that for the past two years the customs payments to which Upper Volta has a right have not been paid over. Customs duties on merchandise for States of the Entente, unloaded in Abidjan, are collected by the Ivory Coast. Accounts are then settled between the Finance Ministers concerned. Non-payment is resented by a Republic whose minimum budget has risen to 7,000 million francs, as against its national income which is only half this sum. Even the general mass of the people who are used to poverty must observe that taxes have gone up and Government actually costs them more now than did the Governors of the colonial era.

Bitterness against the Volta Government is found mainly among students, who return from France with certificates and diplomas, to find no responsible posts open to them because they are held by relatives of those in power although they have no qualifications. These young men, without having any regrets about the departure of their old colonizers, nevertheless want to see more real democracy today.

The most important factor in the eyes of those who oppose the present régime, is the uncertainty about the Upper Volta's alignment with other African States. President Yameogo stated recently that the link between Ghana and Upper Volta did not signify that his country was leaving the Entente. One of the leaders confirmed that agreements signed with Ghana had not yet been published but said they dealt only with economic matters and not with politics. This is too subtle a distinction for the young men in or on the fringe of the opposition. In their view Upper Volta has not enough to offer Ghana in order to obtain such agreements.

## GENERAL

### Labour Productivity<sup>1</sup>

FIELD work for a study of African Labour Productivity was done in Nigeria, but owing to the size of the sample, the diversity of ethnic and religious factors and the level of Nigeria's development, the author believes the conclusions will apply, in the majority of sub-Saharan countries. Information was collected from sixty-three establishments, employing over 50,000 workers, or 10 per cent of the enumerated Nigerian wage-earners.

One does not exaggerate by stating that there already exists a clearly definable, unique and fully elaborated construct of the African worker.

<sup>1</sup>See "African Labour Productivity Reconsidered", Peter Kilby. *The Economic Journal*, June, 1961.

The universality of the image is so great, both in and out of economic literature, as to rank it as a major tenet in the folklore of modern Africa.

The source material for this picture of the African worker is a number of Government reports and individual studies. These studies have depicted a situation of excessively high rates of absenteeism and turnover, lack of punctuality and inefficiency and inaptitude in the work place. The following conditioning factors present in the tribal context are cited:

1. In the traditional subsistence milieu, work for individual gain is unknown.
2. Work is an aspect of communal activity intermittently performed for immediate and limited ends.
3. Division of labour does not go beyond sex and age.
4. There is no other discipline or organization than that imposed by the rhythm of the seasons.

Any incentives to work, including the wage itself, are of limited effectiveness because, as the Inter-African Labour report states, "an absence of conscious need, contentment with little, and consequent improvidence typify tribal life everywhere in Africa south of the Sahara".

The prime fault in the method of almost every study so far undertaken is the inordinate reliance on management and management opinion. In an economic sense management, because its interests often conflict with those of labour, is biased in its presentation of facts and their evaluation. For expatriate managements, who dominate medium- and large-scale enterprise, the situation is further complicated by racial prejudice. The very cheapness of labour tends to make management defensive, insisting that low African productivity makes labour cost per unit "one of the highest in the world". As will soon become evident, the reverse of this statement is closer to the truth. Finally, the expatriate manager tends to idealize the ability, ingenuity and industry of the workers in the metropole when discussing the relative merits of African labour.

After examining absenteeism and labour turnover in twenty-nine establishments employing 30,935 workers, the conclusion reached was voluntary absence and voluntary turnover are low; they are very low when the conditions of work are taken into account. Second, there is a positive correlation between wage, hours and distance from work, on the one hand, and absence and turnover, on the other. This important fact, that performance is dependent on working conditions and not on inherent attitudes of the African, is more clearly seen by a brief examination of three firms.

Firm I represents the "permanently established" staff of the Nigerian Ports Authority, averaging about 4,100 persons. Wages are high and conditions of work are favourable. The extremely low absence rate is explained by lenient sick-leave requirements and liberal vacation and holiday provisions. Turnover is also low.

Firm II is a privately owned soap factory, averaging 625 workers, again characterized by high wages and favourable conditions of service. Enforcement of rigorous standards results in what appears to be the minimum level in absence, turnover and sickness for a large urban employer.

Turning from the firm with the best conditions, we now look at that establishment which offers the lowest wage and the least favourable conditions of service. Firm III processes rubber. Low wages, long hours, a seven-day week, no vacations, no holidays other than Christmas, no sick leave and difficult working conditions prevail. The result, high absenteeism and excessive turnover, is not unexpected.

In summary, the indirect measures clearly indicate that the African's performance as a wage-earner is satisfactory and can by no means be construed to suggest he is "unstable and restless and prone to absent himself apparently without valid reasons". It is also evident that the degree of absenteeism and turnover is a fairly accurate measure, not of the acculturation of the African worker, but of the wage paid, conditions of service and the physical surroundings.

In order to establish the level of proficiency attained by Africans in the unskilled and semi-skilled range three types of work are distinguished. The first is strenuous physical labour. In an underdeveloped country where clearing operations and basic construction account for a large part of

development and where machinery to assist labour is scarce, the ability to sustain great effort for protracted periods is of considerable consequence. The lazy savage image to the contrary, it was found that the African surpasses his European counterpart in sheer physical exertion by as much as 50 per cent when the proper financial reward is held out. Similarly, it was found that the African is willing to put in a longer work day, working overtime in larger firms or simply the normal 12-hour day in the smaller ones. This finding is in sympathy with the ethnological evidence relative to traditional labour: subsistence cultivation of unyielding soil generation after generation has bred a high tolerance level for continuous and demanding labour.

A second category of African excellence relative to European is that involving simple repetitive operations, usually coupled with a high degree of manual dexterity. Found in all parts of the continent, the cultural antecedent is thought to be in the African's disposition towards rhythm, which transforms repetitious work into a mildly satisfying experience.<sup>1</sup>

In a third category of work requiring various operations to be co-ordinated the African compares unfavourably with the European: worker efficiency reaches one-half or even a third of the normal standard attained in England. Poor performance in complex situations appears to be a result of the physical environment of the tribal African, lack of a mechanical tradition of the simplest type (the wheel, wedge and lever) and, in general, an unfamiliarity with the machines and processes of the modern world.

As an artisan, the African's performance appears to be directly related to the quality and duration of training. In Black Africa as a whole, less than one in 10,000 receives even the simplest technical training.<sup>2</sup>

### Conclusions

Our reassessment of African labour productivity has dealt with various aspects of the problem. Indirect measurements, absence and turnover, were taken to suggest the African's regularity and stability. The demonstrated ability of the African worker to perform certain types of operations was discussed. The shape of the individual's supply curve was indicated both by empirical data and by examining the various motives for desiring money. Finally, direct measurements of labour productivity were taken, one in an agricultural setting, the other in industry.

We can now summarize our findings. First, the African does not possess any inherent incapacities or attitudes which are detrimental to efficient production. In fact, it can be argued that regarding continuous labour and repetitive operations he is peculiarly well-suited to modern production. Secondly, the African's willingness to work considerably exceeds that of labourers in developed economies. Thirdly, with regard to machine technology, there are certain facets of machine operation and maintenance which the African, because of his environmental background, does not naturally adapt to. Training, however, will rectify these shortcomings. Investment in human skills, the training of competent craftsmen and technicians, is of recent origin. Careful selection, monetary incentive and surveillance from higher management will reduce supervisory weaknesses to negligible proportions. Thus we may say that the quality of African labour is adequate to meet the needs of the continent's developing economies, now and in the foreseeable future.

There remains the question of output/worker and its non-capital determinants. Our analysis has shown that the limit on labour productivity is not, in fact, set by the worker's proficiency or skill endowments. Rather, the empirically relevant determinants of labour productivity are various management's functions. These functions include organization of the work process, supervision and production control, planning and co-ordination, provision of incentives to labour and maintenance of plant and equipment. Thus, in the final reckoning, it is not the African labourer but his employer who must bear the stigma of imperfect performance. (*The Economic Journal*, June.)

<sup>1</sup> Reported by E. Berg in French West Africa, *Labor and Economic Department*, W. Galenson, Ed. (New York, 1959); A. W. Lewis in Ghana, *Industrialization and the Gold Coast* (Accra, 1953); and S. Biesheuvel in South Africa, *The Occupational Abilities of Africans* (Optima, 1952). The explanation is Biesheuvel's.

<sup>2</sup> See United Africa Company, *Statistical and Economic Review*, January, 1959, p. 12.

*The Editor of the DIGEST does not necessarily endorse the views of correspondents*

# BOOK LIST

(Recent additions to the Mary Attle Memorial Library)

BILLERBECK, Klaus. *Mobilization of Manpower Potential in Asia and Africa*. A discussion of the way in which underdeveloped countries can better use their resources before relying solely on industrialized nations to give technical and economic aid. Published Hamburg Archives of World Economy. (Price DM8.)

BIEBUYCH, Daniel, and DOUGLAS, Mary. *Congo Tribes & Parties*. An analysis of the political implications of tribal groupings in the Congo, together with ethnographic, linguistic and population maps. Published Royal Anthropological Institute. (Price 5s.)

DE BEER, Z. J. *Multi-Racial South Africa: The Reconciliation of Forces*. The leader of the South African Progressive Party sets out the reasons why he believes that constitutional government in multi-racial South Africa will succeed, and that his country will not "sink into chaos". Published Institute of Race Relations and O.U.P. (Price 6s.)

KUPER, Leo. *The College Brew*. A light satire exposing the absurdities of tribal university education and racial separation. Published Paul Koston, 40 Goodge Street, W.1. (Price 7s. 6d.)

MANSELL, Gerald. *Tragedy in Algeria*. A background to the continuing conflict in Algeria which includes descriptions of the country and its varying communities, as well as of the political factors which caused, and are continuing the war. Published Institute of Race Relations and O.U.P. (Price 6s.)

MERRIAM, Alan P. *Congo: Background of Conflict*. A study by an anthropologist who has lived and worked in the Congo. Published Northwestern University Press. (Price \$6.)

NKRUMAH, Kwame. *I Speak of Freedom*. A selection from the speeches of the President of Ghana. Published Heinemann. (Price 25s.)

WAUGHRAV, Vernon. *Race Relations in Great Britain*. An outline of the statistics of the coloured population. Published Peace News, London, N.1. (Price 1s. 6d.)

*African Development—A Test for International Co-operation*. Report. A Paper which discusses the inter-relation of foreign investment, technical aid and the role of the indigenous people in the underdeveloped countries. Published International Industrial Development Center, Stanford, Calif., U.S.A.

*Conference of the European Parliament with the Parliaments of African States and Madagascar*. Report of the Strasbourg Conference June 19-24, 1961, which discussed sources of aid to Africa.

*Report of the Uganda Relationships Commission 1961*. The Report of the Commission under the chairmanship of the Earl of Munster which was appointed by Her Majesty's Government to consider the future form of government for Uganda. Published Government of Uganda. (Price 12s. 6d.)

*Tanganyika Report of the Year 1960, Parts I and II*. H.M.S.O. (Price 2 guineas.)

## Recent Pamphlets and Reports:

AUSTIN, Dennis. *Elections in an African Rural Area*. Reprinted for private circulation from Vol. XXXI No. 1 of *Africa* the Journal of the International African Institute.

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